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Co-production and Values in Museums

**With special reference to the production of temporary exhibitions in
Britain**

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of
The Open University
for the degree of PhD (Management and Business)

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Abstract

This thesis looks at co-production in museums, specifically how external parties were involved in the production of temporary exhibitions. It explores the different patterns of co-production found in various museum contexts, offers an explanation for the differences based on values and discusses the implications for museum managers. The research explored the topic from a museum management perspective, an interdisciplinary field informed by museum and heritage studies as well as various management disciplines. The central research question was – why does the pattern of external involvement in temporary exhibitions vary in different museum settings?

Over a 15 month period data was gathered from a range of museums in Britain to create 20 case studies. A grounded theory methodology (Glaser, 1996; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Goulding, 2002) meant that existing work in museum studies, co-production, project management and organisational culture, informed rather than defined the direction of research. Data gathering and analysis were part of an iterative process which allowed for progressive focusing on the key issues (Stake, 1981). Using a typology of co-production developed specifically for this research the pattern of external involvement was analysed. This established similarities and differences in the pattern of co-production across the case studies. This analysis found that some parts of the exhibition making process were more open to external involvement than others. It also found that some patterns of co-production could be explained by particular exhibition variables, e.g. the size of the budget. However, it became apparent that important aspects of co-production could only be understood by reference to the wider museum context. Hence a higher-level framework to

represent the variety of museum contexts, in terms of values, priorities and norms, was needed. Such a framework needed to locate and illuminate the range of co-production documented in the study, be theoretically robust and make sense to practitioners. To this end, the Museum Values Framework, was developed from the work of Quinn and others (Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981), used to interrogate the data further, and trialed in the field.

This study offers new knowledge on the nature and variety of co-production in museums and highlights the importance of individual, group and organisational values in shaping behaviour in a museum context. The wider implications of the findings for museum management are also discussed. In addition this research makes a theoretical and methodological contribution in the form of the Museum Values Framework. Considerable scope exists to apply this analytic tool to other aspects of museums' work and behaviour.

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1. Introduction

1.1. *Introduction*

Evidence of an apparent trend towards increased external involvement in the production process of museums can be seen in the current emphasis on practices such as public consultation, partnership working, participatory practice and co-curation. Why, and in what circumstances, are museums involving outsiders? What forms does it take? And what implications does this development have for the management and governance of museums? This piece of research focused on the co-production of temporary exhibitions, as this provided a useful lens to explore organisational culture and behaviour in museums. 'Co-production' is used as a generic term to encompass a variety of external involvement, in creating an exhibition, e.g. lending objects, writing text, designing and / or building displays. The role of the visitor as a co-producer once the exhibition was opened to the public was not the subject of the research. This thesis explores the different patterns of co-production found in various museum contexts, offers an explanation for the differences and discusses the implications for museum managers.

The research examined the nature of the external parties involved, the roles they performed and how the process of production was managed. The focus of the research was on the nature of external participation in museums and understanding the pattern of this involvement rather than exploring how it affected the final exhibition or the impact on individual participants. The resulting exhibitions are discussed but they were not the main focus of the research. The focus of the research was on the inherent tensions facing museum managers, particularly when they work in collaboration with other

individuals and groups. The research analysed these tensions and sought to understand how museum managers dealt with them. The central research question was, why does the pattern of external involvement in the production of temporary exhibitions vary in different museum settings? Understanding these differences and the factors that shaped them may have practical applications. The implications are discussed in the final chapter both in terms of the most appropriate way to manage co-produced projects in museums and more generally.

1.2. *Locating the research*

The research is located in museum management and focuses on co-production. It explores the management implications of a move towards greater levels of external participation in museum projects, with specific reference to the production of temporary exhibitions in Britain. It discusses the functions of museums and the organisational culture of different types of museums. In doing so, it fills gaps in the existing museum management literature on organisational culture and it also contributes to the co-production literature by examining the phenomenon in a museum context.

1.3. *The issues facing museum managers*

Management is never easy, but the challenges facing museum managers today appear to be particularly complex. While there are risks in making generalisations about the nature of the museum sector as a whole given the diversity of the 3,000 or so museums in Britain (MLA, 2007; Museums Association, 2009), and the proliferation of different kinds of museums since the heritage boom of the 1980s (Hewison, 1987), there would appear to be some

trends that affect, to a greater or lesser extent, all museums. Some of these, such as the current operational context, are shared with many other organisations, while others are specific to museums. The diversity of museums presented a wide research field. In order to reflect this variety the case studies were drawn from a range of different types of museum but, in an attempt to maintain points of comparison in terms of professional practice the exhibitions all had historical themes. The selection of case studies is explained in greater detail in Chapter 5.

The most glaring issue is that there appears to be considerable uncertainty about the role of museums in contemporary society (Alexander & Alexander, 2008; Cameron, 1971; Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; Janes, 2009; Knell, MacLeod, & Watson, 2007; Weil, 2004). While some museums have a very clear sense of purpose, many do not, and collectively museums often appear confused about what their primary role should be. This idea that museums have lost their way is not particularly new. During the 1970s, a seminal article asked whether museums should be temples for precious objects or forums for social debate, and suggested that museums were suffering from schizophrenia and an identity crisis (Cameron, 1971). It seems that confusion over the proper role for museums persists. Indeed, some suggest that this question has become more confused in the current environment, and today it is not just about what museums do but how they do it (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007; Janes, 2009; McLean, 2004).

Confusion over the proper function of museums is exacerbated by the post-modern world, in particular audiences' reluctance to accept a single version of

truth. Museums are moving away from being storehouses of ordered certainty and stability of the modern age and moving towards being institutions that embrace multiple interpretations of our material culture. This new form of museum, labelled 'the post-modern museum' (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007), is the result of huge changes in the social, economic and technical environment since the first museum in Britain opened its doors to the public more than 300 years ago. Not only has the world changed, but the way we think about the world has changed too. Museum visitors, and potential visitors, can access information from a wide variety of sources and are less inclined to accept a single interpretive narrative. As a result, audiences expect museums to offer opportunities for dialogue rather than a presentation of facts by an expert (McLean, 2004; McLean & Pollock, 2007).

Confusion also results from the variety of people with a legitimate interest in museums, and the range of museum stakeholders appears to be increasing. For a long time, museums have served multiple publics and recognised that what might suit one group may well not suit another. Museum managers are familiar, for example, with the need to balance the needs of academic researchers, school children and overseas tourists. However, the range and diversity of audiences appears to be increasing as our societies become more multicultural. This diversity can result in a rich and productive mixture, but it also brings tensions and the need to negotiate a wider mixture of world-views and opinions (Putman, 2007). For those managing museums, this can be difficult.

Even when a museum manager is clear about the purpose and aims of a particular museum, it can be very difficult to demonstrate the difference

between success and failure. In common with many other not-for-profit organisations, the outputs and outcomes of museums are difficult to assess. This difficulty further complicates discussions with critics and supporters alike.

A complex operating environment and multiple tensions make running a museum a challenging task requiring skilled managers. However, the lack of good management skills in museums has been consistently identified as a problem by a number of authors (CHNTO, 1988; Fopp, 1997; Resource, 2001; Holmes and Hatton, 2008). In addition, it has been suggested that this is linked to a degree of 'anti-managerialism' in museums (Holland, 1997). This ambivalence to 'management' appears to have been exacerbated by somewhat clumsy attempts to introduce marketplace ideology and commercial management practices into museums, for example under the auspices of New Public Management, failing as they did to recognise the unique features of museum management (Griffin, 2008; Janes, 2009; Sandell & Janes, 2007). Of course, there are exceptions to this 'anti-managerialism', and there are signs that the status of management and leadership in museums is improving (Hewison, 2004), but the ambivalence and lack of academic attention has not helped museums to develop management styles that suit the particular needs of museums.

1.4. Co-production

In recent years, there has been increased interest in co-production, but it is used to mean different things in different contexts, leading to a degree of confusion. This research adopts a wide definition from one of the pioneers of co-production, Elinor Ostrom, i.e. '*Co-production is a process through which*

inputs from individuals who are not “in” the same organization are transformed into goods and services’ (Ostrom, 1996). This definition is applied to the process of producing an exhibition before it opens to the public rather than referring to visitors (or consumers) of the exhibition who can legitimately be seen as co-producers once an exhibition has opened.

The collaborative working necessary in co-production brings with it increased potential for conflict, for example between individuals, organisational priorities and working styles. Such conflicts can be positive, but they do need to be managed. The thesis explores the spectrum of different types of co-production, explores how the values profile of the project affects the nature of the co-production and discusses the implications for museum management.

1.5. *Methodological approach*

Given the nature of the research questions, the level of academic literature on this issue and my own epistemological outlook, I adopted a grounded theory approach (Glaser, 1996; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Goulding, 2002). This meant using the literature to highlight relevant concepts rather than defining the direction of the research. Multiple case studies were created using material from 20 different temporary exhibitions. The choice of temporary exhibitions as the unit of analysis was a fruitful one, since exhibition making encompasses so many aspects of museum work, making them an ideal focus to explore co-production in a museum context. Data gathering was restricted to registered museums in Britain and took place between November 2008 and February 2010. The research followed an iterative process, as analysis began as data

was gathered, allowing for progressive focusing (Stake, 1981) to take place as the work progressed. Examination of the data began with in-case analysis, and then comparisons were made across cases to identify patterns. The final phases of analysis used a typology of co-production and an adapted version of the Competing Values Framework (Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981) to develop new theory. The use of a preconceived framework might be considered a form of methodological muddling. Indeed it is a deviation from the more rigid forms of grounded theory. However, some writers on grounded theory recognise the importance of existing literature in sensitising the researcher to the significance of emerging concepts and categories (Glaser, 1978; Goulding, 1998, 2002) and my use of existing conceptual frameworks was in keeping with the iterative principles of grounded theory. It was the analysis of the data which led me to my choice of frameworks, in particular types of co-production and the importance of values, and the frameworks I used were adapted to fit the data rather than vice versa.

1.6. Findings

The research found that exhibition making is, by its very nature, often a collaborative process, concurring with the existing literature on exhibition making. In terms of the form external involvement took, the research was able to identify some patterns in the 20 case studies. While, in some cases, there was a high degree of external involvement, the data indicated that where external parties were involved they were more frequently involved in particular elements of the process and apparently absent from others; most noticeably there was very little external involvement in management activities. There were exceptions to this pattern and, in a few cases, the boundary between exhibition

producers and exhibition consumers was distinctly blurred. The pattern of co-production is discussed and a possible explanation is offered based on the values and organisational culture found in the cases.

1.7. *Implications for museum management*

The implications of these findings were considered in terms of how best to manage co-production in a museum environment, much of which concurs with existing literature on co-production, and in the wider context of museum management. The Museums Values Framework (MVF), introduced to make sense of the initial findings, has scope to be used by museum practitioners and by those who study museum management. It makes the often unarticulated tensions in museums visible, enabling managers to understand their operational context and to adopt the most constructive management approach.

1.8. *Contribution and limitations*

The research did not set out to establish a complete analysis of co-production in museums; rather it offers some observations based on empirical data to further our understanding of co-production in this context. This includes a typology for identifying different types of co-production in museums. This research is far from an exhaustive study of co-production in museums, and much of what is explored in this thesis would benefit from further investigation.

While the relatively small number of case studies limits the generalisability of this research, the data sits on solid foundations, allowing for a degree of extrapolation. The thesis offers some preliminary thoughts on what the findings imply for museum management more generally. These comments include a

discussion about what the MVF reveals about museum management and how it might be applied. While this analytic tool is new and untested (with the exception of this sample), it has the potential to make a useful contribution to our understanding of museum management and organisational theory. The MVF has the potential to contribute both to the academic study of museum management and the practice of museum management. By making the competing demands facing museum managers explicit, the MVF may help practitioners to navigate through the variety of pressures and priorities they face. In exploring the different forms of co-production and their potential outcomes, the research may help managers to understand how to choose the most appropriate form of co-production. The research also makes a contribution to the co-production literature by exploring the phenomenon in a museum context.

2. What are Museums For?

2.1. *Introduction*

This chapter puts the research into context by expanding on issues raised in the introduction, specifically the apparent confusion over the proper function of museums in a post-modern world and the resulting tensions facing museum managers. Investigating the functions of museums is central to the research topic because there is, or at least there should be, a link between the overall aims of the museum and the means of achieving them. It follows, therefore, that there ought to be some connection between a museum's aims and whether, or how, external parties are involved in the production of temporary exhibitions.

The chapter begins by discussing two definitions of museums in an attempt to draw a line between museums and museum-like organisations. It moves on to examine the literature on the functions of museums, exploring the contradictions between these functions and the tensions that emerge from the current operational context. It explores the concept of values, i.e. beliefs, assumptions and practices (Armstrong, 2006; O'Reilly & Chatman, 1996; Schein, 2004; Stanford, 2010), as a way of understanding these tensions. The chapter concludes by examining the implications for museum management.

2.1.1. *Definitions*

The professional association for museums in Britain defines museums in the following way:

'Museums enable people to explore collections for inspiration, learning and enjoyment. They are institutions that collect, safeguard and make accessible artefacts and specimens, which they hold in trust for society.'
(Museums Association, 2008)

A second definition comes from the International Committee of Museums:

'A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.'
(International Committee of Museums, 2009)

Both of these definitions identify collections and, critically, the preservation of those collections as defining features of museums. Both set the museum in context of society and place serving the public, through education, research and access, on a par with the collection. People and objects are the core elements of these definitions, both of which are central to this research. Both state that museums exist to serve society, but are not explicit about how that service is identified or how involved society should be in creating that service. It seems that the Museum Association's definition suggests a larger role for "people" as opposed to the "institution". They both imply a standard division between the expert provider and the museum user, which this research into co-production may challenge. There are also differences between the two definitions. The ICOM one includes intangible heritage, which includes, for instance, food traditions, storytelling and dance, while the Museums Association definition does not. The ICOM definition states that museums should be not for profit, while the Museums Association makes no mention of this.

While these definitions begin to identify the field of study, there remain problems of classification. How do museums differ from other organisations that share

some of the characteristics of museums, such as botanic gardens, art galleries, libraries, archives, universities, fun fairs and theme parks? The points of difference between museums and museum-like organisations revolve around three main areas. The first of these areas concerns the nature of the collections, i.e. whether they are living or inanimate, two- or three-dimensional and tangible or intangible. The second area of difference is the permanence of the collection. Museums have a stronger commitment to preserve their collections than many museum-like organisations, although this may be changing as museum practitioners are discussing disposal and repatriation more openly (Heywood, 2009; Museums Association, 2008). The third area of difference is about how they serve the public and the degree to which the organisation selects and interprets the collections. Museums' normal mode of operating is to interpret the material they present to the public, frequently in the form of exhibitions but also events and publications. In contrast archives, for example, have tended not to do this. There are exceptions to these norms and some archives, for example the British Library, produce exhibitions using their collections and run events. There are obviously grey areas between museums and museum-like organisations. Museums may share practices with many of these museum-like organisations, but, for the purposes of this research, botanic gardens, zoo, fairs and archives are not considered museums.

There are approximately 3,000 or so organisations in Britain (MLA, 2007; Museums Association, 2009) that can be properly described as museums and there is considerable variation between and within these museums. Following the museum boom of the 1970s and 80s (Hewison, 1987) it appears that there is a museum for almost every topic one can imagine and a huge variety of

organisational types. Museums range from one room wonders run on a shoestring by volunteers to large and highly professionalised venues, operating million pound budgets. This variety of organisational types may influence the nature of the service they offer and how they communicate with the visiting public. For example the open air museums populated with historical re-enactors contrast with the enclosed formality in some of the older and more traditional museums where objects in glass cases remains the norm. This variety within the museum sector, in terms of topic, size, staffing, budget and operational factors, makes it difficult to discuss museums as a cohesive type.

This research adopted the Museums Association's definition to help focus the field of research because it appeared slightly more open to participation by external parties and because the research took place in Britain. This meant that case studies were drawn from museums with tangible collections of objects, which the organisation sought to preserve for the future and to use for the benefit of people today. This can be seen as a more traditional Western view of museums (Watson, 2007) and one that excluded virtual online exhibitions. It is recognised that the definition is not static, but it served as a working definition for this research. A fuller explanation of how the case studies were selected is provided in Chapter 5.

2.2. *Purpose and core functions*

A definition is not enough to determine what the overarching purpose or functional priorities of a museum are (or should be). It may be helpful to attempt to make a distinction between the purpose of museums and their functions even if, in reality, the two are inextricably linked. The purpose is the

overall goal that informs the functions, rather like a strategic aim informs the actions necessary to achieve that aim. Both the purpose and the functions of museums are often ill-defined and/or unspoken, with the result that practitioners act in a mist of assumptions and received opinion (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992, p.3).

The literature discussing the purpose and functions of museums is relatively recent (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992). The discussions have been conducted in slightly different arenas and with a variety of perspectives, including cultural commentators (Appleton, 2001; Hewison, 1987; Holden, 2004, 2006); cultural studies academics (Bennett, 1995); philosophy and sociology (Foucault, 2000); and art history (Malraux, 1974); as well as museum studies (Alexander & Alexander, 2008; Cameron, 1972; Fraser, 2007; Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; Janes, 2009; Merriman, 1989; O'Neill, 2006; Sandell, 2002; van Mensch, 1990; Watson, 2007a; Weil, 2004; Woollard, 2006). The way the functions have been identified by these writers varies, but there are four themes which recur in the literature, preserving, understanding, communicating and contributing to our shared civic society.

Most writers accept each of these as a function of museums, but disagree on the relative priority that should be given to each. I am not the first to suggest that values, i.e. beliefs, attitudes, norms and assumptions (Armstrong, 2006; O'Reilly & Chatman, 1996; Schein, 2004; Stanford, 2010), play an important role in influencing functional priorities in museums. Cameron, for example, suggests that the unresolved conflicts in modern museums are due to differences between '*values systems*' (Cameron, 2004). Also, in writing about conflict in exhibition teams, Lee (Lee, 2007) refers to the professional norms in

different '*communities of practice*' (Wenger, 1998). The origin and impact of values is complex, but they are too important to ignore.

The section below discusses the four core functions that recur in the literature, paying particular attention to how values have shaped perceptions of these functions over time and from place to place.

2.2.1. Preserving the collection

Creating and caring for a collection are defining characteristics of museums, and a permanent collection distinguishes museums from other museum-like organisations. Key activities related to this function include acquiring new objects, storing and conserving.

A number of writers have argued that humans have a basic instinct to collect (Alexander & Alexander, 2008; Cameron, 1972), and that collecting objects is one way in which humans make sense of the world. A number of early museums in Britain were based on collections created by wealthy and often leisured individuals. For example, the collection of Hans Sloane was the founding collection of the British Museum (Caygill, 1992), and those amassed by the Tradescants and supplemented by Elias Ashmole became the core of the Ashmolean in Oxford (Ashmolean Museum, 2009; Potter, 2006). Many of these early collections were idiosyncratic, driven by the whim of the individuals, and included a wide range of objects linked only by their curiosity and the values of the collectors (Cameron, 1972). From the 18th century onwards, museum collecting became increasingly systematic and specialised. Individuals

and the early museums collected multiple examples of, for example, butterflies or ceramic bowls, in order to study their similarities and differences.

Nowadays accredited museums have collecting policies that define the topics and geographical collecting area. Such policies regiment what is collected, but decisions about what to collect remain loaded with political meaning. The very act of adding an object to a museum's collection confers new meaning onto that object. A tea cup is no longer just a tea cup; it becomes something that is worth preserving for future generations. Considerable effort (and expense) is put into finding the appropriate storage to avoid, or minimise, decay and deterioration. Without abandoning the assumption of preservation for future generations, museum practitioners increasingly discuss deaccessioning, in other words, the previously taboo subject of selling or otherwise removing items from a collection. This is a clear indication of the mutability of what is worth preserving.

Despite changes in what is considered worthy of preservation, there has been little change in how decisions to acquire or dispose of objects from a collection are made. The original private collectors appear to have been replaced with a new elite of professional curators (Cameron, 2004), and these insiders make decisions for the public rather than in collaboration with the public.

2.2.2. Increasing our understanding

This function is concerned with capturing, extending and creating knowledge from the museum's collection. At its most basic, this function takes place when objects are catalogued and information about the object, its size, colour, use

and history is recorded. More complex forms include researching, writing and publishing on topics related to the collections. In some museums, this activity is similar to academic research in universities, with some members of staff spending a considerable proportion of their time on original research. In others, generally smaller museums, research is rarely a major part of the museum's work.

As others have noted, the process of making meaning from objects is a complicated and variable process (Fraser, 2007; Hooper-Greenhill, 2000b; O'Neill, 2006; Witcomb, 2003). It is tied up with concepts of the nature of knowledge and what it is possible to know. How an individual perceives the nature of knowledge has an important impact on their approach to, for example, creating the narrative for a temporary exhibition. There has been a shift over the years from the idea that displays in museums are always neutral and objective towards acceptance of inherent bias. The acknowledgement that exhibitions have a 'point of view' creates a context where incorporating alternative voices, from outside the museum, may be ideologically desirable.

2.2.3. Communicating what we know

This is about creating opportunities for people to learn and pass on knowledge. It has always been a very important part of what museums do, and temporary exhibitions are a very important way in which the museum communicates with the public. It must be noted that museums use a range of other methods in addition to exhibitions, e.g. publications, websites, lectures, workshops, gallery talks, school sessions and guided tours. These activities are often referred to

collectively as 'interpretation' (Black, 2005; Merriman, 1989). The outcome of these activities may be the transfer of factual knowledge, but it may also include emotional learning and inspiring a sense of awe and wonder. Traditionally, communication was seen as one-way, i.e. with the museum broadcasting knowledge to visitors. However, this transmission model has been adapted in recent years, as museums realised that visitors did not always receive the intended message (Falk & Dierking, 2000; Spencer, 2001b). One adaption of this communication model has been to listen to visitors. This often has been in the form of visitor research, e.g. checking understanding and listening to feedback from visitors. Another way of adapting the communication model is to involve visitors in the transmission of information, in other words, to allow for greater involvement of external parties in the production process.

Museums' communication function is not always about giving visitors what they want. Sometimes a museum may have a role to highlight difficult and contentious issues, even to argue with society (Janes, 2004; Postman, 1990).

2.2.4. Contributing to civic society

The fourth of the recurring themes is the contribution museums make to civic society. They do this in a number of ways, first, they can provide a public space where people can meet, socialise and engage in debate. This kind of accessible public space is an important part of creating strong communities and has been described as 'third space' (Oldenburg, 2000); 'first space' being home and 'second space' being the workplace). The existence of third space, whether informally created or designed by architects and town planners, enables the development of 'social capital', i.e. the networks and collective trust

that glue a society together (Grenier & Wright, 2003; Hall, 1999; Putman, 1995; Putman, 2000). Museums can be places that generate, and maintain, considerable social capital. This can take a variety of forms. At its most basic, museums offer a place to visit with friends and family. In addition, more organised events, lectures and workshops can bring people together. Through these means, museums can contribute to different kinds of social capital. They can reinforce connections between existing groups, for example family and friends, thereby promoting 'bonding' (Putman, 2007). Museums can also play a part in bringing different social groups together in a shared public space, i.e. 'bridging' (Putman, 2007).

As part of this function, museums can help define who we are by assisting the creation of individual, local and national identities (Falk, 2009; Watson, 2007b). Museums have long played a role in defining our identity by becoming our collective memory (McGregor, 2003), and by telling (in some cases promoting) particular versions of history. In recent years, the role of museums in developing national identity has been particularly important in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland as part of the devolution agenda (Stephens, 2009). Some of the larger museums have a role in international cultural diplomacy (Holden, Briggs, Jones, & Bound, 2007). At a more local level, the potential of museums to engender a sense of community and belonging has been much used in debates about social cohesion and local regeneration. This was particularly true after 1997 and the election of the New Labour government (Sandell, 1998). This has led some to ask whether museums have transformed themselves into 'social museums' (Tait, 2008), forgetting, or ignoring, that museums have long had a social element and that many were established during the 19th century

with the intention of uplifting and improving the general population by offering opportunities for 'rational recreation' (Cole, 1884; Frayling, 2008).

The ways in which museums contribute to civic society have been seen as positive and empowering, for example helping to define our personal and national identities. They have also been understood in negative and controlling terms, enforcing the cultural hegemony and domination by the ruling class (Bennett, 1995).

Elements of these four functions exist in all museums but, as a number of writers acknowledge, their relative importance can vary over time and depending on the context (Bennett, 1995; Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; Lord & Lord, 2001). The weight an individual or museum gives to a particular functional area may differ from a museum in another time or place. Understanding the balance between the functions is an essential part of establishing the purpose of a particular museum and of museums in general. It is central to the research question because there is, or at least there should be, a link between the overall aim or purpose and the means to achieving it. This includes the use of co-production in the creation of temporary exhibitions. Therefore, the relative importance of these functional areas is a topic the thesis will return to, but first we shall examine some of the inherent tensions of these four core functions.

2.3. Tensions between the functions

In addition to the tensions within the functional areas, there is also conflict between the functions. At its most reductionist, the debate is presented as a

tug of war between those who argue for museums to be primarily about preservation and scholarship versus those who argue that museums ought to focus on the museum visitors through education, popular exhibitions and projects. This divide was summed up in a classic article that examines whether the museum is a temple or a forum (Cameron, 1971). The temple museum has an inward focus, while the forum museum has an external focus. This section explores two of the inherent tensions related to the core functions of museums.

2.3.1. Preservation versus use

There is an undeniable clash between preserving the collections and using them with people today, since handling and displaying objects can lead to damage. Is it more important to preserve the collection for future generations or allow people to touch, view and learn from the objects today? The tension can be overstated, and there is plenty of space between the extremes of shutting the collection away completely and allowing completely free access to everything. What is interesting for this research is how museum personnel make decisions about balancing these competing priorities.

The rarity of an item is an important consideration; damaging or destroying a unique piece of historic evidence is a more serious loss than damage to an object with multiple copies. For example, a rare and delicate piece of 17th-century embroidery will not be used in handling sessions with school children, where there is a high risk of damage, but it may be displayed as part of a temporary exhibition protected in a case with low-level lighting. On the other hand, Victorian flat irons and dolly tubs are both plentiful and robust, which

explains why they are routinely used in hands-on activities. The risk of damaging the object is low and the potential education benefits are high. The decision-making process is about assessing the risks and benefits in order to make an informed choice. The best course of action appears to depend on what the museum is trying to achieve and the values of those involved. In contexts where the ethos emphasises the preservation aspects of museums, personnel are likely to prioritise activities that work towards this aim, e.g. preventative conservation and storage, rather than activities that increase access and use, e.g. public handling sessions.

2.3.2. Understanding versus communicating

A second tension between core functions is between a tendency to hoard and research versus a desire to share the collections. Typically, this is played out in museums across the country in arguments with conservators and curators on one side and learning staff and community officers on the other. While this is an oversimplification, it would appear that the tension stems from a different set of professional values. The curators and conservators tend to stress the research function of museums while the learning and community staff emphasise the service the museum provides for visitors and other users. These different professional approaches reflect differences about the proper function of museums as well as different working styles and different concepts about the nature of knowledge. For example, an expert curator may be reluctant for a collection of axe heads to go on display until he has exhausted their research potential and he can be as sure as he can be about the facts. In contrast, a community officer may be happy to use objects that have not been

fully researched with non-experts and discover new knowledge with the users. Co-production has the potential to overcome this conflict, but doing so requires a new approach to the generation of knowledge and the demolition, or at least a reduction, of the barriers between experts and users.

2.4. Contextual tensions

The areas of conflict discussed in the section above appear to be magnified by the current operational context, specifically post-modern uncertainty, the rise of participation culture, multiple stakeholders and increased pressure to earn money. This section discusses how museums have responded to the current environment and, given the focus of this research, what it means for the creation of historical exhibitions.

2.4.1. Post-modern uncertainty

Many modern historians embrace the idea of multiple versions of history (Foner, 2002; MacDonald, 2009), and this thinking is reflected in literature on museum exhibitions (Dubin, 1999; MacDonald, 1998). However, museum displays sometimes struggle to craft multiple versions of history into a coherent story rather than a chaotic cacophony (Govier, 2010; Hooper-Greenhill, 2000b). Understanding that there is, almost always, more than one version of history is an important part of historical understanding, and it is part of the way history is now taught in British schools. A key part of the history national curriculum is learning how to use multiple sources and exploring the past from different perspectives (Department of Education, 2000). It is not the case that in the past

historians agreed with each other – far from it – but the difference today is the recognition that different, even opposing, historical interpretations can be recognised as legitimate. It all depends on who is telling the history.

A classic illustration of how this uncertainty can impact on museum exhibitions was the controversy that raged over the plans to display the Enola Gay at the Smithsonian's National Air and Space Museum in Washington to mark the 50th anniversary of the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and the very different standpoints of ex-servicemen and survivors (Dubin, 1999).

Recognising multiple versions of history makes it difficult for museums to create exhibitions with a single narrative voice. A potential advantage of co-production is the opportunity to inject alternative views into the exhibition-making process.

2.4.2. The rise of participation culture

Paralleling the reduction in certainty, there appears to be an increased expectation of individuals to have their voices heard. The rise of the 'participation culture' (Borsche, 2008; Jenkins, Puroshotma, Clinton, Weigel, & Robison, 2005; McLean & Pollock, 2007; Tapscott & Williams, 2008) appears to be a social phenomenon driven by, for example, higher levels of education, reduced respect for authority and technical changes. It means that the public, or at least sections of the public, welcome the greater levels of participation offered by, for example, on-line blogs, YouTube, Facebook, Flickr and MySpace, and that there is now an expectation of at least the possibility of involvement (McLean, 2007, p.8).

Some of these technical changes, such as interpretation using television, audio tours and web 1.0, are simply new tools for the museum to behave much as it has always done providing information to the visitor in a one-way linear communication model (Affleck and Kvan, 2008). However, the emergence of technology that allows information and images to be shared quickly and widely allows for museums to move towards a discursive approach, which enables and encourages multiple interpretations (Affleck and Kvan, 2008, p.269). Museums have experimented with the possibilities of digital technology, but they have yet to fully exploit the possibilities for dialogue that web 2.0 offers in terms of interacting with the public. There have been experiments with wikicatalogues, i.e. websites that allow visitors to challenge curatorial interpretations and write their own labels. For example, the Science Museum has a wikicatalogue that invites members of the public to add their memories to photographs of objects from the collection (Science Museum, 2009). Another type of participation is the use of user-generated content, e.g. the Victoria and Albert's beach project, which created a digital gallery of images of artwork created by people around the world (Morrison, 2009). All of these are examples of a move towards greater participation enabled by new information technology.

However, just because the technology allows for this to happen does not mean that it is necessarily taking place. The examples above do not reflect the bulk of museum work. Rather, they are exploratory and experimental projects. Nor are expectations and actions necessarily the same, and it is possible to overstate the public's appetite for participation. At least, while the public likes the idea of being involved, they do not necessarily take up the opportunities offered. For example, in theory anyone can edit Wikipedia, but in fact 10% of editors

contribute 86% of the material and 0.1% contribute 44% (Tammet, 2009). A minority of people appear to be very keen to talk-back and join-in while the majority remain silent. Finally, while new technology does have an impact on the ability and expectations of participation, its role can be overstated. It is a facilitator rather than an essential element. For this piece of research, the expectation of involvement engendered by new technology may be more important than the actual use of new technology.

2.4.3. Multiple stakeholders

A third challenge from the operating environment is the diversity of museum stakeholders and the corresponding challenge of accommodating their various priorities. A stakeholder is taken to be any individual or group who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organisation's objectives (Freeman, 1984; Mitchell, Agle, & Wood, 1997). This means a wide range of individuals and groups with a legitimate interest in how the museum is run. Stakeholders include more than just museum visitors. They include other types of museum users, such as researchers and schools, and, particularly in publicly funded museums, there is pressure to reach out to non-visitors. Other stakeholders are those who donate objects and provide funding. In addition, museums have responsibilities to two distinct groups who are extremely hard to consult, namely our ancestors and future generations (Janes & Sandell, 2007). As well as external stakeholders, there is considerable variety, in terms of professional norms and priorities, within museum teams, for example archaeologists, designers, educators and marketers.

This range of stakeholders results in a corresponding mixture of opinions about what the museum is for and how it ought to operate. Satisfying this range of views and beliefs of multiple stakeholders can be extremely challenging for museum managers. It is difficult for museum managers to know which stakeholder group takes priority. Which audience should be targeted? Should the exhibition be aimed at the specialists and push the boundaries of understanding or should it be designed for the tourists who want entertainment? The answer often appears to be both and everything.

2.4.4. Increased commercial pressure

The task of earning money is curiously absent from the, rather philosophical, discussions in the literature about the functions of museums. While it may be recognised that most museums do generate income, this is seen as a secondary function, or even as a necessary evil, required to support the primary functions. As the ICOM definition states, museums are 'non-profit' and as such different from for-profit organisations, but this does not mean that museums are devoid of commercial pressures. Britain has a long tradition of using public money to support museums but, in recent years, many museums have come under increasing pressure to generate an increasing proportion of their costs.

Today, almost all museums in Britain, whether national, local authority or independent, have a hybrid income structure, with money coming from a variety of sources, e.g. public funding, ticket sales, commercial income from trading activities, grants from charitable organisations, donations from private individuals and possibly income from an endowment. The balance between

different income sources will vary from museum to museum, but very few museums receive all their income a single source. A visible sign of the increased pressure for museums to earn income is the increase in the number (and quality) of museum shops and cafés over the last 20 years. The pressure to earn money is increasingly apparent in museums and, at times, appears to be in conflict with other priorities.

The increasing need to generate income appears to make managing a museum challenging, not just because there are more things to do, but because there is a wider range of priorities and values to be negotiated. With a few exceptions, museums have not adopted the division, familiar in the performing and visual arts, between creative director and business director (Sandell & Janes, 2007). The British Museum's experiment with this arrangement, with Robert Anderson as Director and Suzanne Taverne as Managing Director, was not an overwhelming success (*The Independent*, 2002). This means that museum managers need to be skilled at multitasking, balancing conflicting priorities and operating in different spheres. Increased commercial pressures are likely to influence decisions about the nature and extent of external involvement in the work of the museum.

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the core functions of museums, because how these are understood informs the aims and objectives of individual museums, which in turn influence whether and how external parties are involved in the museum's activities. In discussing the functions of museums, this chapter has shown that

there is no single answer to the question, what are museums for? Rather the answer changes over time, from museum to museum and from person to person. There appears to be a strong link between perceptions about the proper function of museums and the beliefs, norms and assumptions, in other words values. Values shape organisational culture and behaviour (O'Reilly & Chatman, 1996; Schein, 2004; Stacey, 2007; Stanford, 2010), and, as this thesis will discuss, they appear to play a powerful role in explaining the nature of co-production in the creation of temporary exhibitions.

The variety of functions, range of opinions, diversity of communities of practice within museums and the current external context mean that tensions about the functions and priorities of museums are almost inevitable. The tensions within and between the four core museum functions (preserving, understanding, communicating and contributing to the civic society) are exacerbated by the current operating environment. In this swirl of expectations, pressures and demands museum managers are often pulled in different, and sometimes contradictory, directions. It is possible that this climate of uncertainty creates an environment where the boundaries of museums are more flexible, meaning that museum personnel may be more open to a wider variety of co-production and external participation than they have been in earlier decades.

While there is considerable disagreement about the precise role for museums, there is broad agreement about the importance of exhibitions to museums. Exhibitions are a key way in which museums communicate with the visiting public, which is one reason why external involvement in temporary exhibitions was chosen as the topic of this research. The next chapter explores the

concept and production methods of exhibitions in order to identify the processes that are open to external involvement.

3. Temporary Exhibitions

3.1. Introduction

'Museums are not museums without exhibitions. The most prominent and public of all museum offerings, exhibitions are the soul of a museum experience for the millions of people who visit them, as well as for many of the people who create them.' (MacLean, 2004, p.193).

The importance of exhibitions in museums, as illustrated in the quote above, makes them an excellent topic for research into co-production in museums. In order to understand how external parties are involved in the production of exhibitions, we need to understand how exhibitions are produced. Therefore, this chapter examines the literature around temporary exhibitions, with particular reference to interpretive theories and the production process. It begins by defining what a temporary exhibition is and discussing how the current operational context has influenced the form and, to some extent, meaning of temporary exhibitions. This research focuses on exhibitions with a historical topic, but within that genre there is a range of variations. To provide a framework of understanding, this chapter discusses a typology of exhibitions. It goes on to explore how exhibitions are created, looking at the personnel and the elements of the production process. The final section explores how exhibitions are produced by discussing the exhibition team and the production process.

3.2. The nature of exhibitions

The concept of an exhibition is usually understood as a selection of objects put on show for an audience (Alexander & Alexander, 2008, p.236). To qualify as an exhibition, there must be an attempt at explaining the displays. A collection

of objects on display without interpretation is not an exhibition, but simply a storehouse (Lord, 2006, p.5). The interpretation may be subtle, even hidden, and does not always depend on the text. Exhibitions are also three-dimensional sensory experiences; the colour of the walls and the lighting contribute to the interpretation of the objects on display. Some have even claimed that exhibitions are primarily non-verbal experiences (Ames, 1992, p.319). A distinction is normally made between permanent and temporary exhibitions (Alexander & Alexander, 2008, p.237). While the differences between the two are not always clear, practice suggests that most temporary exhibitions run for less than a year while permanent exhibitions are expected to last for five, 10 or more years. The relatively short duration of temporary exhibitions may allow museums more freedom to experiment, while permanent displays need to express the enduring aspects of the organisation's identity and purpose.

In addition, technological changes have influenced the concept of an exhibition. The rise of digital technology has made possible virtual exhibitions, also known as on-line exhibitions. These consist of digital images, text and other data. It has been suggested that the original idea for virtual museums came from André Malraux (Styliani et al., 2009), who, writing in the mid-20th century, put forward the concept of an imaginary museum (*le musée imaginaire*), a museum without location or spatial boundaries and the content of which was shared (Malraux, 1974). Whether the virtual exhibitions are the realisation of Malraux's ideas is debatable. What is relevant to the research is that new digital media enables people outside the museum to contribute content with ease (Affleck and Kvan, 2008). This ease of contributing on-line has transformed people's expectations of participation in other fields (McLean & Pollock, 2007), which has an impact

on non-digital co-production. This research is concerned with the more traditional form of temporary exhibition consisting of tangible objects presented with an interpretive narrative for an audience in a venue for a specific time period. The apparent increase of external involvement in creating these kinds of exhibitions may be seen as part of a wider trend that has seen the boundaries between institutions and the public become more porous.

3.2.1. Different types of exhibition

Science, art and historical exhibitions have their own distinctive styles of display. While these are not absolute or fixed, the broad exhibition topic appears to influence what the end product looks like. For instance, the white cube format of white walls sparsely filled with objects is typical of contemporary art exhibitions but unusual in historical displays. As well as differences in the design, there appear to be differences in how the various specialisms operate. These variations in the internal culture and behavioural norms have been described as a community of practice (Wenger, 1998), and it is possible that the various genres of exhibitions are produced in different ways, which adds a further layer of complexity in understanding the pattern of co-production.

This research concentrates on historical exhibitions, and within that genre there is considerable variety. One of the most interesting attempts to define different types of historical exhibition comes from Tammy S. Gordon, who has put forward a typology that identifies five types of exhibition, i.e. academic, corporate, community, entrepreneurial and vernacular (Gordon, 2010). These exhibition types are identified as having particular features. Gordon calls these

'institutional and gallery variables' (Gordon, 2010 pp. 15-18). Gordon's typology states that different types of exhibitions use different sources of knowledge. For instance, academic exhibitions tend to be based on internationally recognised academic knowledge; other types of exhibitions tend to supplement this with other sources of knowledge, such as oral tradition and popular culture. Similarly, the overall purpose of an exhibition varies according to its type, e.g. vernacular exhibitions are primarily about creating atmosphere in space such as a restaurant or café, whereas community exhibitions are often about asserting local identity and control of heritage resources. The typology also alludes to the method of production, at least in terms of personnel. Academic exhibitions tend to be created by qualified museum professionals; community exhibitions may have some professional input but are likely to combine this with non-professional volunteers, while entrepreneurial and vernacular exhibitions are likely to have no professional input at all.

This research is concerned with only two of the types of exhibition identified by Gordon, i.e. academic and community, but the institutional and gallery variables identified by the typology offer a relevant framework for this research. Of particular relevance to this research are the following variables: the source of knowledge, purpose of the exhibition, personnel, funding and the exhibition resources and design. These variables were used to analyse the data.

3.3. Exhibition and interpretive theory

This section will discuss the main trends in thinking about exhibitions and interpretation in museums, paying particular attention to the issues facing the

exhibition under investigation, i.e. historical exhibitions. It presents them as a series of dichotomies, with one paradigm in opposition to another. This illustrates the tensions facing museum managers in creating exhibitions, but, as we will discuss later, this polarised thinking may be at best an oversimplification. It may be possible that these apparently contradictory approaches can be (and are) combined in the production of an exhibition. Appreciating some of these tensions may help to explain the pattern of co-production found in the case studies, since how the person organising the exhibition thinks about these issues influences which external parties they work with and the tasks they allocated to them.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, interpretation in this context means something or someone that translates what is seen and experienced to others with less experience (Black, 2005; Brochu & Merriman, 2002). The purpose of museum interpretation is to help people to appreciate and understand museum objects and displays (Black, 2005). It has been argued that everything museums do is interpretive, since the act of selecting objects for the collection and presenting them to the public ascribes meaning to them (Alexander & Alexander, 2008). However, interpretation is more commonly used to describe activities designed to communicate with the public, and temporary exhibitions are one, perhaps the most apparent, area where this takes place.

3.3.1. Collection centred versus visitor centred

Over the last 50 or so years, there has been a definite shift towards visitor-centred museums. This is evident in how the educational function of museums

has gained in recognition (Roberts, 2004). Museums have paid more attention to the needs of visitors by conducting visitor research and improving visitor facilities, e.g. cafés, toilets, retail operations, extended opening and so on. In addition, there is more emphasis in valuing the visitors' experience and how visitors help to create meaning from displays (Falk & Dierking, 2000; Fraser, 2007). The aim has been to increase access (physical and intellectual) to allow a wider proportion of the population to benefit from museums. Over the same time period, concerned voices have been raised about the erosion of scholarship and the marginalising of curators in museums (Appleton, 2001; Murdin, 1990; Roberts, 2004).

The focus of the exhibition is likely to shape how external parties are involved in the production process. This is about attitudes and priorities rather than topic. For instance, an exhibition about teapots could be collection centred or visitor centred. A collection-centred exhibition about teapots will focus on the objects, and this may mean spending most of the exhibition budget on ceramic conservation, cataloguing and research into Sèvres porcelain, for example. Conversely, a visitor-centred exhibition about teapots might spend more resources on finding out what potential visitors would like to know about teapots and creating an exhibition around the findings of that research. The focus will influence not only the final exhibition but also how it is produced. Co-production can occur in exhibitions that are visitor centred as well as those that are collection centred, but the nature of the external parties and the nature of the involvement will vary.

3.3.2. *Objective versus subjective*

In the previous chapter, the issue of post-modern uncertainty was discussed in terms of how it affects museums, in particular through the reduction in the museum's authority and the rise of multiple historical interpretations. Historical certainty has been eroded as history has been revised and rewritten from alternative perspectives, such as women's history, working-class or peoples' history and, in ex-colonies, first-nation history. The best-documented example of contested history in a museum, the display of the Enola Gay at the Smithsonian, has already been referred to (Dubin, 1999), but this is not an isolated example of the stresses caused by multiple interpretations of the past. In our increasingly multicultural society, there is an increasing diversity of legitimate voices, and this may also be pushing museums away from a one-way communication of facts and towards a two-way conversation (McLean, 2004). Clearly some areas of history are more contested than others. The more disputed a topic, the more likely museums may be to invite external parties to become involved in the production process. In Britain, the histories of slavery and empire present particular difficulties for museums, and one response to this has been to move towards greater dialogue with museum visitors, for example, the consultation exercise carried out by the Museum of London in 2007 when they created the *London, Sugar and Slavery* gallery and the large feedback section in the British Empire & Commonwealth Museum in Bristol. The inevitability of subjectivity has been described as the 'politics of display' (MacDonald, 1998).

3.3.3. *Historical context versus aesthetics*

The increased use of professional design skills has led some to suggest that aesthetics are dominating exhibitions at the expense of objects and historical context. In caring too much about how things look, exhibitions are being denuded of historical meaning, and the current trend is

'... to dishistoricise museum displays in favour of a purely aesthetic approach.' (Lord, 2007 p.355).

This move is linked to the problems of historical certainty mentioned above (3.3.2), and Lord suggests that museums have opted for an overly aesthetic approach in order to avoid being didactic. Reducing the interpretive material allows the object to speak for itself and avoids the museum being criticised for taking sides. However, this aesthetic approach, and the minimal historical information it provides, risks visitors leaving confused if the objects do not speak as loudly or as clearly as the exhibition organisers intend. A solution might be for the museum to offer plural, or multi-voiced, interpretation, and one way to do this is to involve people from outside the formal museum structure to participate in the interpretation of the objects.

The idea of an opposition between aesthetic (primarily visual) and historical context (primarily language based) can be challenged. These are simply different ways of understanding and explaining the world, but in the current Western world, language is valued above sensory and kinetic forms of communication. Stafford calls this cultural bias '*logocentrism*', and argues that it was during the 18th-century Enlightenment that the importance of imagery was

displaced by the importance of rational philosophies and language (Stafford, 1996).

How the exhibition organiser thinks about the relative importance of aesthetics/visual design and word-based content is likely to influence their approach to the exhibition. The relevance of this to the research topic relates to the kind of external parties the exhibition organisers will seek to involve. For example, people who value visual, sensory and kinetic forms of communication are more likely to allocate funds for design and employ professional designers.

3.3.4. *Visitors as passive receptacles versus visitors as active participants*

There are different views about the role visitors have in making meaning from an exhibition. The traditional communication model is that the museum sends a message via the exhibition to a visitor who receives it (Spencer, 2001b). This transmission model of communication assumes a linear process transferring information from an authoritative source to the visitor, and that knowledge is objective and value free (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000a). However, research into how visitors actually experience museum displays suggests that the communication is rarely this straightforward, visitors do not always receive or understand the intended message (Durbin, 1996; Falk & Dierking, 2000; Fraser, 2007) and it is challenged by post-modern ideas of subjective truths (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000a). There is evidence to support the idea that museum visitors are active participants in the meaning-making process, bringing their existing knowledge and experience to interact with the displays (Falk & Dierking, 2000). Many museums demonstrate their recognition of active visitors by, for example,

undertaking formative evaluation for exhibitions in order to better understand what potential visitors already know and what they are interested in discovering. On the other hand, some museums appear to hold to the transmission model of communication, relying on expert scholars to choose the objects and write the text with very little thought given to what the visitors might contribute (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000a). The conception an exhibition organiser has of the visitor is likely to shape his/her appetite for involving external parties. Those who believe that visitors come to exhibitions as an empty vessel to be filled with knowledge are far less likely to feel the need to test out their interpretive approaches, let alone actively involve potential visitors in producing exhibitions. On the other hand, those who believe that visitors play an active part in creating meaning from the displays are more likely to want to know about potential visitors in order to develop better displays. The logical extreme of active visitors may be for visitors to construct personalised exhibitions using the museum's resources, choosing objects and consulting experts. This is the philosophy behind 'mashedmuseum' (Ellis, 2008) and 'crowd-sourcing' exhibitions (Atkinson, 2010b). The idea of visitors as active participants is potentially a threat to those who are comfortable with the idea of experts producing and visitors consuming exhibitions.

3.3.5. A more nuanced approach

Setting up one approach against another implies that there are only two alternatives. The evidence found during this research suggests that this is not always the case. Instead of trading off the needs of the collection, for example, against the needs of the visitors, sometimes these needs can be brought

together. It appears that exhibition organisers frequently combine apparently contradictory interpretive strategies when producing an exhibition. They may, for instance, identify target audiences and conduct market research but otherwise produce the exhibition entirely in-house. In other words, they may accept the idea of visitors as active participants in constructing meaning, but there is a limit to any co-production activity. How exhibition organisers deal with the resulting complexity will be discussed in more detail later in the thesis. Now we will explore the process of creating an exhibition and the various inputs, both internal and external.

3.4. The production process

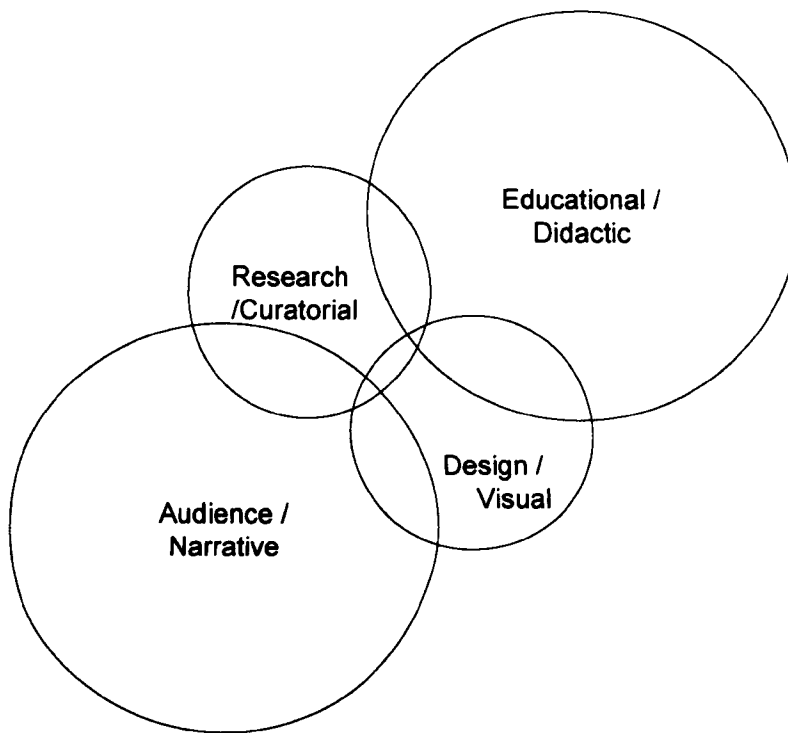
In order to explore how external parties are involved in the production of exhibitions, we need to establish how exhibitions are created. Much of the museum studies literature on exhibitions focuses on the design, aesthetics, power and conservation issues rather than the management of the production process, so while this section explores the museum studies literature, it also draws on management literature, specifically project management. Exhibitions can be distinguished from the normal day-to-day running of the museum by having a beginning and an end; in this sense, they are a project. The project management literature breaks down the elements of a project, which could have provided a relevant framework for the research, however, the research data challenged some of the assumptions made by project management theory.

3.4.1. Exhibition teams and curators

Today there is general consensus that exhibitions are produced by teams and involve a range of specialist skills across a range of disciplines, for example curatorial, design, audience research, marketing, security, management and learning (Alexander & Alexander, 2008; Lee, 2007; Lord & Lord, 2001; McLean, 2004; Taxen, 2004). There is also recognition that the inputs from various professional perspectives will vary according to the nature of the exhibition; for instance, Hugh Spencer has written on balancing different perspectives when producing exhibition text (Spencer, 2001a), and illustrates this in a series of diagrams. He argues that the input from each of the four professional perspectives (research/curatorial, educational/didactic, design/visual and audience/narrative) will vary depending on the exhibition; for example, Figure 1 shows the appropriate balance for a children's exhibition. He is not suggesting that the research/curatorial and design/visual elements are not important, but that, for this type of exhibition, the other perspectives are of greater importance. The appropriate proportions for another exhibition in another museum will be different. While he is concerned with professional or insider contributions, the principles illustrated in Figure 1 could be applied to co-produced exhibitions. The relevance to this research is the idea that the most appropriate production process will vary depending on what the desired end product is. Co-produced exhibitions will not necessarily have similar patterns. For instance, an exhibition that was co-produced with another museum and a university may have high levels of the research/curatorial inputs, while a co-produced exhibition that worked with design students may have relatively large design/visual and educational/didactic inputs. The most appropriate proportions will vary from

case to case and depend on the nature of the exhibition and the external parties.

Figure 1: Illustration of the combination of perspectives for an exhibition at a children's museum (Spencer, 2001a, p.1)



While it is generally accepted that exhibitions are produced with a range of expertise, there is a degree of ambiguity about the best way to organise the exhibition team, as this quote illustrates:

'There is no one agreed way to organise a museum staff in order to produce exhibitions ...Historically, curators have been expected to organise, or, at least, to stimulate and lead, exhibition development, and to a large extent this is still true in many museums. But the problems inherent in the exclusively curatorial approach are made manifest with examples every day ...Many museums have responded to this dilemma by establishing exhibition departments, or by appointing someone to that anomalous position – "curator of exhibitions". At the very least, many have found it necessary to appoint an "exhibitions officer", responsible for the co-ordination of the exhibitions programme and sometimes for its content as well.' (Lord and Lord, 2001, p.15)

This leads us to a discussion about who is in charge of exhibitions and the role of curators. While we still talk about 'curating' an exhibition, and describe outsiders who lead an exhibition as 'guest curators' (Zusy, 1998), curators are not always in charge of exhibitions. This would appear to be a relatively recent change. It has been said that historically curators designed exhibitions single-handedly (Taxen, 2004, p.205), and that the process of production was closed to non-curators (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992, p.210). However, in the sample for this research, only 13 of the 28 people interviewed had 'curator' as part of their job title, despite the fact that they were selected because they were key players in the production of the exhibition. In the context of this research, this is more than a matter of semantics. The absence of curators in the sample reflects wider changes in the museum sector. In the 1960s, curators made up nearly 40% of the museum workforce. By the 1990s, this had dropped to 12% (Calder, 2009, p.47). During the past 40 years, the staffing structure of many museums has changed, and there has been a proliferation of new roles in, for example, information technology, education, fundraising and community engagement (Calder, 2009).

In addition to these historical trends, the role of the curator can mean very different things in different museums. In some contexts, a curator is a museum manager responsible for the overall running of the museum, with a job that encompasses, for example, personnel, financial and visitor management. In other contexts, a curator is specialist role focused on the care and research of a particular collection. While the role of individual curators varies, there are core curatorial tasks that relate to the stewardship of the collection, and include, for example, documentation, collection care and preventative conservation. Given

the potential for confusion, this thesis avoids the use of the word 'curator' unless it is in a job title, and tries to be more specific about the role being performed. It limits the use of 'curate' and 'curatorial' to refer to the stewardship of the collection, which is closer to the original Latin meaning of the word, 'to care for or to oversee'.

The importance of the people in an exhibition team should not be underestimated. They bring their talent and their views to bear on the exhibition-making process, as Kenneth Ames wrote of exhibition teams:

'You cannot think about people in the abstract, creating ideal team diagrams and flow charts. All of the people who become part of your equation bring with them their own content expertise, their own priorities, their own prejudices.' (Ames, 1992 p.322).

It follows that inviting outsiders to participate can therefore be expected to change the dynamics of the team and, potentially, can affect both the process and the outcome of the exhibition.

3.4.2. The production process

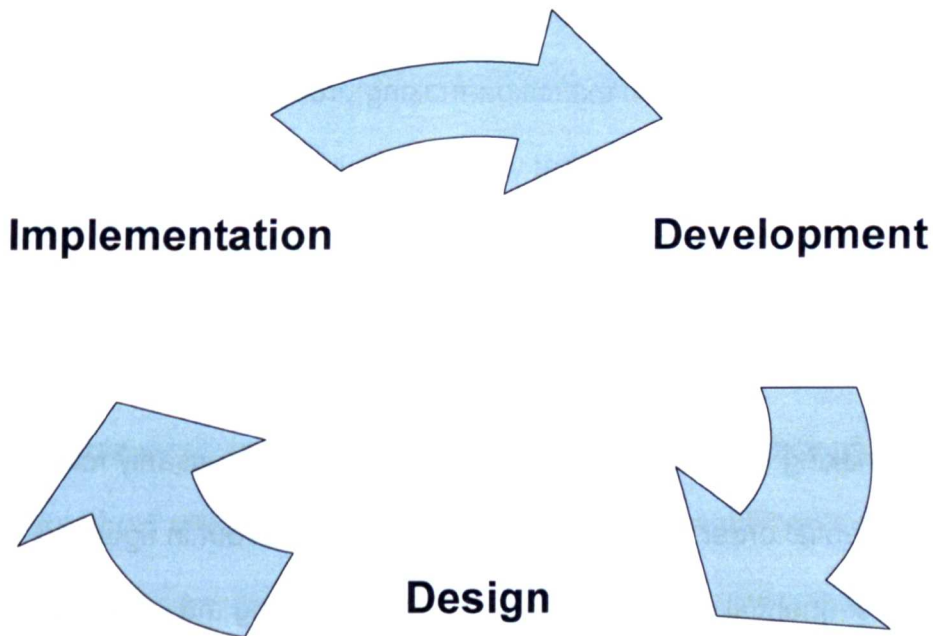
Initial data gathering suggested that some parts of the exhibition-making process are more open to the involvement of external parties than others.

Therefore, in order to understand the nature of co-production, it is necessary to understand the elements of the production process. This section looks at how the production process has been understood, drawing on exhibition theory and project management theory.

One of the clearest explanations of the process of creating an exhibition divides it into three distinct phases, development, design and implementation (Lord &

Lord, 2001 p.4), reproduced in Figure 2. Its simplicity is appealing, but it is an oversimplification. This cycle identifies all the elements of production, but, for example, the initial exhibition concept or the management aspects, such as setting the budget, are not identified separately. One assumes that they are part of the process, but this model does not break the process down far enough to help identify how external parties are involved.

Figure 2: The exhibition production process (Lord and Lord, 2001)



Project management theory identifies five core elements, or process groups, of a project, i.e. initiating, planning, executing, controlling and closing (Project Management Institute, 2008). These divisions, illustrated in Figure 3, offer a way of subdividing the production process of exhibitions into smaller elements.

Figure 3: Classic process groups of project management (Project Management Institute, 2008)

Process group	Examples of exhibition activities
Initiating	Original idea. Discussions around the exhibition concept, topic and key messages. Some early feasibility planning and scoping.
Planning	More detailed research into the topic and planning the exhibition. Writing the final exhibition brief.
Executing	Delivery, i.e. preparing objects for display, building the displays, writing the text, producing the text boards and installing the exhibition.
Controlling	Monitoring the budget. Meeting deadlines.
Closing	Evaluating the exhibition, e.g. gathering visitor feedback. Taking the exhibition down. Returning borrowed objects.

In combination, the categories illustrated in figures 2 and 3 can be used to identify the constituent parts of the exhibition-making process, and they are the basis for a typology of co-production that will be set out later in the thesis. However, it is important to recognise the limitations to this division into process groups.

First, exhibition making is a creative process and does not necessarily follow the linear or sequential order. The production processes set out in figures 3 and 4 assume a sequential cycle, with one element preceding the next. In reality, this is not always the case; the phases may overlap, and different exhibitions can follow different production processes. For example, some exhibitions start with design, the aesthetics of the objects and the sense of space, around which a story is woven; others begin as an intellectual concept or idea that has to be developed into a three-dimensional exhibition (Alexander & Alexander, 2008, pp.236–237). Kenneth Ames gives a compelling description of the creative process of producing an exhibition:

' ... the process of developing exhibitions is an evolution. An idea takes on its own organic process of growth and expansion as new material and new insights are accumulated. An intelligent and flexible crew will be willing to let their project change its shape. They will embrace the little serendipities that come

late in the planning process and often become the nicest moments within the exhibition. If they are really confident, they will even encourage situation of creative conflict. For conflict can push ideas and concepts to higher levels. In short, a process that allows extensive and continuing exploration of options and alternatives a process that supports relatively long periods of open creativity is likely to produce superior results.' (Ames, 1992, p.317).

The data from this research supported much of what Ames says, in particular about openness to serendipity; for instance a conversation between a museum volunteer and a visitor resulted in one of the exhibitions in this sample (13. Pilots). Given that the process of producing an exhibition is messy, interlinked and non-linear, the best this research can hope for is to identify the constituent elements that provide the most significant occasions of participation by external parties.

Project management theory contributes something important to this research, but it needs to be adapted to the specific context. There are distinct, and identifiable, processes involved in the production of exhibitions, but we must be careful about making assumptions about how these elements connect to each other. Exhibition making appears, at least in some cases, to be a messy process. False starts and overlaps may be an essential part of the creative process. This makes the evaluation and management of external participation as problematic as the evaluation and management of any other aspect of this complex process. However, its very difficulty and complexity should encourage us to try to understand it more fully, even though it is unlikely ever to be reducible to a simple formula that museum managers can follow in all cases.

3.4.3. *Managing the production process*

The introduction alluded to a degree of 'anti-managerialism' in the museum sector, and this applies to the production of exhibitions. While exhibition organisers may perform the various elements of production outlined in the section above, they may well not recognise it as performing a management function. This does not necessarily mean that management theory is irrelevant, but that the language used by those involved in producing exhibitions is different from the language used in the management literature. This may simply be an example of a mismatch between theory and practice, but there may be more to it. It is worth noting that, of the 28 people interviewed during this research into 20 exhibition projects, only three had 'manager' or 'managing' as part of their title, and only one was a 'Project Manager'. The lack of enthusiasm for project management in museums probably owes something to the very prescriptive and generic way in which it has been promoted over the past two decades (Hartman, 2008) and to the assumptions it makes about management and human behaviour, assumptions that do not necessarily fit the creative and collaborative nature of many museum projects. Some of the more recent project manager literature recognises the challenges of managing complex projects, and raises issues relevant to this piece of research, such as dealing with apparently contradictory demands (Frame, 2002), thriving on uncertainty (Jaafari, 2003), the importance of social skills and the ability to share leadership (Keegan & Den Hertogg, 2004; Thomas & Mengel, 2008). Another consideration for those managing exhibition projects is that exhibition teams are frequently interdisciplinary, i.e. they consist of people with different professional expertise. These different disciplines, for example curators, designers and

educators, may have distinct professional norms or communities of practice that result in members of the team having different perspectives and taking different approaches (Lee, 2007; Veenswijk & Chisalita, 2007; Wenger, 1998). These are issues highly relevant to the research topic and ones that we will return to later in the thesis.

3.5. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed different types of exhibitions and identified a series of variables. A key question is whether (and how) the balance of priorities in a particular exhibition influences the use of co-production. It could be argued that exhibition making has always been, to a greater or lesser extent, a collaborative process, and before the professionalisation of museums the boundaries between who could be involved and who was excluded were less clear-cut. Learned amateurs have a long tradition of contributing to museum exhibitions, and in some museums they still do. Also, the contribution of non-professionals (both volunteers and those without traditional curatorial backgrounds, such as electricians and designers) in museums has frequently been downplayed. Professional museum staff appear to have asserted their superiority over the learned amateurs in the 19th and 20th centuries by using academic knowledge and formal qualifications. While that may have been appropriate in an age of lower educational standards and more deferential attitudes, today's context would suggest the need for changes particularly in the role of museum insiders, such as curators. Increased involvement of external parties appears to be one way in which museums are responding to the current social and technological

environment, from increased consultation to involving the general public in the production of exhibitions.

4. Co-production

4.1. Introduction

This chapter locates the research in the co-production literature by giving an overview of the main threads in recent debates and indicating its relevance to museums. It begins by discussing the range of words and phrases applied to co-production and explaining why 'co-production' is the preferred term for this piece of research. It goes on to discuss different types of co-production and the distinctions made by other writers were used as the basis for developing an appropriate typology of co-production in museums. The chapter explores co-production and the perceived advantages and disadvantages of using this approach. It also discusses the literature on managing co-production, focusing on the most relevant aspects for this research into the nature and pattern of co-production in museums.

Museums have an established tradition of working in partnership with other museums (Smith, 1915) and organisations such as universities, schools and art organisations. In recent years, the idea of working with others has expanded and moved up the agenda of many museums. As one writer has commented, '*It seems that the museum world has never been so interested in participation and engagement*' (Govier, 2010). For many museum practitioners, partnership projects, public consultation and advisory groups have become an accepted way of working. Some museums, for example the Open Museum in Glasgow and Manchester Museum, have put community involvement at the heart of their operational model. Others have embraced collaborative working for particular projects, for example the consultation exercise carried out by the Museum of London in 2007 during the creation of the *London, Sugar and Slavery* gallery.

The interest in working with others is reflected in publications aimed at museum practitioners, covering subjects such as working with the public (Mulhearn, 2008), guest curators (Zusy, 1998; Heal 2009), source communities (Heywood, 2009a), inter-museum partnerships (Heywood, 2009b), the collaborative potential of new technologies (Morrison, 2009), presenting multiple voices in displays (Gascoigne, 2007) and community projects (Nightingale, 2008).

An increased interest in collaborative working is not confined to museums. It can also be seen in other sectors ranging from public, private and third sectors (Archer & Cameron, 2009; Boyle & Harris, 2009; The Scottish Government, 2004; Vangen & Huxham, 2003). The recent manifestations of co-production appear to have some features that distinguish these activities from previous practice, first there appears to be an increased emphasis on working with the public rather than with professional peers. A second distinctive feature seems to be a change in the motivation for involving external parties. It appears that current curatorial practice incorporates ideological concepts that differ from earlier practice; for example, today, when museums work with source communities, the reasons given often concern ownership and obligation rather than the notion that this group has useful information. These changes in the nature and reasons for working with external parties may be changes in emphasis rather than fundamental changes.

It is also possible that the increased interest in the involvement of external parties is linked to a change in our understanding of the production process. In other words it is not behaviour that has changed but how that behaviour is conceptualised. Co-production (Cahn, 2008; Ostrom, 1996) and Service

Dominant Logic (SDL) (Vargo & Lusch, 2004, 2008) both challenge the classical economic orthodoxy of a distinct division between the producer and the consumer and the nature of the production process but in different ways. Co-production explores how users might join with (or replace) the traditional producers. While SDL redefines the production process by extending it to the actions of consumers. Since museums, along with other not for profit organisations, have never sat comfortably in the classical economic orthodoxy it is worth reviewing how these ideas relate to the subject being investigated.

4.2. Understanding the terminology

A number of words and phrases are used to describe the involvement of external parties, for example, partnership, joint-working, participatory practice, collaboration, co-production, co-curation and co-creation. These are sometimes used interchangeably, and sometimes applied to specific activities. As one of the interviewees commented,

“...there is a slight confusion over what is happening, partly because the language we are using is susceptible to different definitions. There is a lot of talk of either consultation, or co-production or joint interpretation and these things mean different things to different museums.”

(Deputy Director, 6. Iron Age, p.10)

This confusion is also apparent in the literature (Govier, 2010; Mulhearn, 2008; Archer and Cameron, 2009). Demarcations can be drawn between the terms. For instance, a partnership is often understood as involving just two parties, but business partnerships can consist of multiple partners and an organisation can have multiple partnerships running concurrently. Collaboration describes individuals or groups working together towards a common goal, but it does not carry the same expectation that something concrete will be produced, unlike co-

production. Ostensibly, co-curation means working with others to produce an exhibition, but the concept of curator is contested, as discussed in Chapter 3 (3.4.1), which means that co-curation is open to similar misinterpretations. It could refer, for example, to designing and managing the whole exhibition or to only a particular element of the production process, such as researching the objects. It has been suggested that co-creation is a more appropriate term than co-production in a museum or arts environment, because it implies an openness about what is created, while co-production implies that the outcome has already been defined (Govier, 2010). While this has considerable appeal, it makes an assumption about the nature of the work that may not always be warranted. Some of the newer phrases, for example the 'dialogic museum' (Tchen, 1992), 'participatory museum' (Simon, 2010) or the 'participation paradigm' (Meijer-van Mensch & Bartels, 2010), imply a more democratic production process, possibly based on ideas about the function of museums. Some writers have suggested a link between the emerging technologies, which allow for greater dialogue, with an increased expectation of participation (McLean & Pollock, 2007), and there is an awareness of borrowing from practices in other fields; for example, there is a recent tradition of 'participatory design' in the development of complex technical systems and software (Ehn, 1993; Kensing, Simonsen and Bødker 1998; Dittrich, Randall and Singer 2009).

In themselves, the words fail to describe the nature of the relationship in terms of who is involved, what is being done or how impactful the joint working might be. My response to this plethora of terms is to use 'co-production' to encompass all types of joint working that result in a finished service or product, in this particular piece of research, an exhibition. Co-production is appropriate

for the research question precisely because it is inclusive, combining the creative elements (e.g. defining the narrative and designing the graphics) with the managerial (e.g. setting the budget and monitoring the work) and the physical infrastructure (e.g. painting the walls and installing the lights). It also includes a wider range of external parties, not just users or the public.

Ostrom's definition of co-production (Ostrom, 1996) suited the research question because it included many different types of external involvement. However, it is important to clarify that this research did not explore the interaction between visitors and the exhibition that takes place once the exhibition has opened to the public. The process of meaning making which occurs when a visitor brings their existing knowledge and experience to an exhibition is acknowledged in the museum studies literature as a shared process (Falk & Dierking, 2000; Fraser, 2007) and this co-creation of meaning is very similar to one of the fundamental premises of contemporary marketing theory as expressed in Service Dominant Logic (SDL) (Vargo & Lusch, 2008). SDL proposes that the value of a product is not embedded within it but created by the interactions between producers and consumers and therefore the customer is a co-producer. When SDL is applied to a museum exhibition museum objects are operand resources, i.e. resources which are acted upon to produce an effect, while intangible expertise, organisational processes and visitors' knowledge and experiences are the operant resources, i.e. they act upon other resources to produce an effect. Both operand and operant resources create the exhibition and its value. SDL challenges the idea that the production process stops at the point of delivery, i.e. when the exhibition opens to the public. While acknowledging this as a valid form of co-production it was

not the focus of this research, important as visitors are, they are outwith the direct influence of museum managers in assembling an exhibition. Instead the research focused on the processes which occurred prior to the exhibition opening – producing the basic product to which the visitor then adds value as a consumer. Thus the production process for our purposes here consists of the activities which took place prior to opening the exhibition to the public. Having said that it is probable that many of the external parties were also museum visitors but it was not their role as a visitor that was under investigation. Therefore, in this research, they were described according to their role in putting the exhibition together or their reasons for being involved, e.g. local resident, student, private collector, carpenter, writer, musician or volunteer.

The following sections refine the definition of co-production used in the research, breaking it down into more specific types of co-production in a museum context. This will allow the research to go on to explore the pattern of co-production in the case studies.

4.2.1. Defining co-production

The original concept of co-production was coined by Elinor Ostrom to describe the fact that public services, such as policing and rubbish collection, are produced jointly by public servants and the public (Ostrom et al., 1982; Parks et al., 1981; Ostrom, Parks and Whitaker 1978). Co-production has become closely associated with academic discussions around the common pool resources of the natural environment, such as parks, fresh air and the oceans (Berkes, 2009; Glicken, 2000; Lemos & Morehouse, 2005; Moller, Berkes,

Lyver, & Kislalioglu, 2004; Ostrom, 1990), but it can be, and has been, applied to a variety of activities and the concept has been given a variety of nuanced meanings. This research adopted the following definition: ‘... *a process through which inputs from individuals who are not “in” the same organisation are transformed into goods and services.*’ (Ostrom, 1996). This definition is more suitable for this investigation than, for example, ones which specify the delivery of public services through reciprocal relationships (Boyle & Harris, 2009) or long-term relationships between professionalised service providers and service users (Bovaird, 2007). Ostrom’s wider definition is more apt for two reasons. First, museums are not all part of the public sector, although many receive public support. Second, it recognises that co-production takes many forms and is not limited to a relationship between the public and professional providers (Bingham & O’Leary, 2008). Using this definition, the research could examine a diverse range of co-production activities and external parties, including paid freelancers and consultants.

4.2.2. Current debate

Much of the renewed interest in co-production has revolved around how the third sector can work with the public sector to deliver services (Pestoff et al., 2006; Bovaird, 2007; New Economics Foundation, 2008; Boyle and Harris, 2009). The present emphasis, at least among British politicians and policy documents, is on health, education and policing (Boyle and Harris, 2009) rather than museums or culture. While the term ‘co-production’ is not as prominent in museum discourse as in health and social welfare, the activities and principles behind co-production are discussed, as we have already seen, under other

labels, such as partnership (Wilson & Boyle, 2004), engagement (Black, 2005; Bruce & Hollows, 2007), collaboration (Fienup-Riordan, 1999), co-creation (Atkinson, 2010a; Govier, 2010) and the participatory museum (Simon, 2010). In the cultural sector, the debate around co-production has a number of strands. One area of discussion concentrates on the concept of cultural value (Hewison and Holden, 2004; Holden, 2004 and 2006) and how a greater degree of engagement with the public might enhance both the legitimacy and accountability of publicly funded culture. Connected to this is the idea of '*value-based conservation*' (ICOMOS, 1988; English Heritage, 2007), which argues that decisions about heritage need to take into account the opinions of the general public alongside those of heritage experts. Another area of discussion has focused on how specific groups of external parties interact with museums. For example, two groups that have attracted particular attention are source communities (Peers and Brown, 2003; Harrison, 2005) and digital communities (Affleck and Kvan, 2008). The areas where external groups are involved also vary, for example governance (Bandelli, Konijn, & Willems, 2009), the repatriation of objects (Conaty, 2008) and exhibitions (Fienup-Riordan, 1999; Marstine, 2007; Taxen, 2004).

4.2.3. Power and co-production

Co-production is sometimes presented in terms of a balance of power, i.e. the more control the museum relinquishes the greater the co-production (Corum, 2009; Mulhearn, 2008). Some writers talk of a shift in power towards the consumer in order to improve services (Boyle & Harris, 2009). However, this may be misleading. When the phrase was first used by Ostrom, she assumed

that citizen input into public services results in a more efficient use of resources as well as improved standards (Ostrom, 1996; Ostrom et al., 1982). If the sum of the parts is greater than the individual contributions, then it is conceivable that all parties gain from working together. This gain may be material, in terms of money or time saved, but it may also be in terms of an expansion of power. It is clear that the consumer gains power, for instance, in having greater input into how resources are allocated and how services are delivered. What is perhaps less obvious is that the provider may also gain, because working with others gives the provider greater legitimacy to act and as a consequence the provider is more able to shape the agenda, make decisions and act on those decisions. Of course, this depends on how power is defined.

In a museum there are different kinds of power, and power is often dispersed throughout the organisation. For this research, the most relevant types of power are those that allocate resources, select exhibition topics, define the narrative and deliver the exhibition. The decision-making power to allocate resources, such as gallery space, funding and staff time, normally rests with the senior management. The power to define the narrative and key messages in an exhibition normally rests with the exhibition organisers, who might be curators, an exhibition officer or another member of the museum team. A slightly different kind of narrative power is the ability to shape and influence historical knowledge. A considerable amount has been written about how museums use (and abuse) this kind of power (Bennett, 1995; Dubin, 1999; Fraser, 2007; Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; MacDonald, 1998; Sandell, 2007). In history museums, this power is linked to historiography and the creation of historical narratives (Carr, 1961; Elton, 1967; Lowenthal, 1997; Foner, 2002; MacMillan,

2009). Traditionally this form of power has been seen as resting with the expert curators (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; Taxen, 2004), but today it is frequently shared with others inside the museum, such as educational staff and designers, and, perhaps increasingly, those outsiders, such as community groups or university academics. The production of temporary exhibitions is one area where this balance of power is played out.

4.3. The spectrum of co-production

Given the variety and breadth of co-production, it would be helpful to identify different types of co-production. Various attempts have been made to distinguish between different types of co-production using various aspects of the phenomenon, for example, whether the involvement is collective or individual (Brudney and England, 1983), what function the consumers or producers are performing (Pestoff et al., 2006; Bovaird, 2007), the impact of the involvement (Needham, 2007; Needham and Carr, 2009) and the depth of the relationship (Archer & Cameron, 2009).

4.3.1. Functions

Other writers have used the functional activity to distinguish between different types of co-production, e.g. co-governance (Bode, 2006; Pestoff et al., 2006), co-management (Brandsen and van Hout, 2006; Pestoff et al. 2006), co-planning (Bovaird, 2007), co-design (Bradwell and Marr, 2008) and co-delivery (Bovaird, 2007). In a museum context, for example, an advisory group's feedback on an exhibition brief might be categorised as co-design, while a

freelancer writing text for an exhibition is co-delivery. This kind of division between functional areas is potentially very helpful in understanding where in the process of production involvement is taking place, since, as previously mentioned in 3.4.2., some parts of the exhibition-making process appear to be more open to external involvement than others.

Bovaird (2007) combines the function with the status of the parties involved to devise a matrix of nine types of co-produced service delivery (Figure 4). He argues that full co-production depends on professionals and users (in other words producers and consumers) being co-planners. The implication is that this kind of co-production will have the greatest impact. Other combinations are considered lesser forms of co-production. This matrix does offer a useful framework to think about the various types of co-production. However, these categories oversimplify the nuances of the process of production. In some cases, the division between producer and consumer is blurred; for example volunteers drawn from the community in a small local museum may, at different times, be both producers and consumers of museum exhibitions.

Figure 4: A matrix of co-production (Bovaird, 2007)

	Professionals as sole planners	Professionals, service user/community as co-planners	No professional input into service planning
Professionals as sole service deliverers	Traditional professional service delivery	Traditional service provision with users and communities involved in the planning and design	Professionals as service delivery
Professionals and users/community as co-deliverers	User co-delivery	Full co-production	User/community co-delivery of service
Users/community as sole deliverers	User/community delivery of professionally planned services	User/community delivery of co-planned or co-designed service	Traditional self-organised community provision

4.3.2. Nature of the external parties

The nature of the external party is another way to distinguish between different types of co-production. Who is participating is as important as what role they perform. There is some evidence that particular types of people, namely wealthier and better educated, are more likely to become involved in co-production, and a number of writers have raised issues about the fairness of this (Rosentraub and Sharp, 1981; Brudney and England, 1983). There also appear to be differences in how external parties are constituted, and a number of writers distinguish between individual and collective or group participation (Brudney & England, 1983a; Percy, 1979). Some believe that collective co-production is more beneficial than individual participation (Brudney & England, 1983b; Needham, 2006), although how this is assessed is unclear.

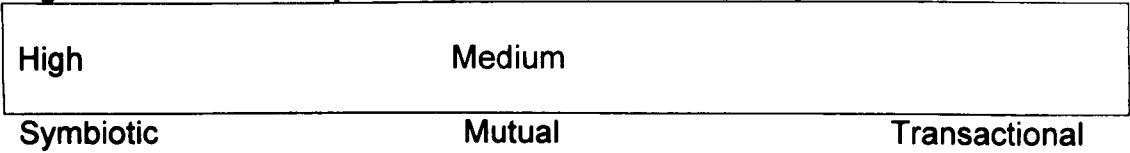
4.3.3. Impact of co-production

Some writers have sought to distinguish levels of co-production based on how much impact the consumers' involvement has on the resulting service or product, for example the transformative co-production of Needham and Carr (2009). The impact may be on those involved and/or on what is produced. While this has a certain appeal, it is difficult to see how the impact could be ascertained. Exhibitions tend to be one-offs, and therefore it is not possible to compare the exhibition as it is with a putative exhibition that was never created. Having said this, it is possible to make a subjective judgement of impact, for example, by examining the proportion of borrowed items in an exhibition and the number of direct quotes found in the exhibition text.

4.3.4. *Depth of the relationships*

Clearly some forms of co-production are deeper than others and, consequently, the relationship between the parties is more involved. Archer and Cameron (2009) describe this as a collaboration spectrum, which puts transactional relationships, such as buying services or materials, at the lower end (see figure 5). At the other extreme, the highest form of collaboration occurs when the various parties act as a team and the relationship is symbiotic. These teams may develop their own rules and practices and evolve into what others have described as a proto-institution (Lawrence, Hardy, & Nelson, 2002).

Figure 5: Collaboration spectrum (Archer and Cameron, 2009)



Some collaborative projects appear to go off this scale entirely and involve handing over the museum project to someone from outside, for instance Bristol Museum and Art Gallery’s collaboration with the artist Banksy to transform the museum by ‘remixing’ the collections in 2009 (Corum, 2009), where the artist was given a free rein to plan and execute the displays with minimal input from the staff team. A more common and lower-key example of this is when museums hire out their exhibition galleries to others, such as the local art society, to mount their own display.

4.3.5. Power to make decisions

Another typology based on the power to make decisions has been set out by Simon (2010). The different types are not presented in a hierarchy but simply as different types of activity. First there is 'contribution', in which external parties bring objects and ideas to the project. In this situation, most decisions are made by the museum. 'Collaboration' is when the external party is an active partner but the process is controlled by the museum. 'Co-creating' is where the external party works in equal partnership with the museum from the beginning, jointly defining the goals and sharing decision making. The fourth category she identifies is 'hosting', where the museum hands over space to a group or individual to create something in the museum. Decisions about timings and space rest with the museum, but all decisions about the nature of the display rest with the external party (Simon, 2010).

The divisions between different types of co-production found in the literature, and explored above, fall short of an adequate account of the research topic. Certain elements of the exhibition production process appear to be excluded from the categories and typologies, or at least important aspects are subsumed. For instance, the initiation and early developmental stages of an exhibition are potentially very important in shaping both the exhibition and the process of production, but in the existing typologies these activities would be lumped together with the more mundane planning activities, such as setting deadlines. Therefore, an alternative typology was developed during this research through which to analyse the pattern of involvement found in these 20 case studies. The typology is set out in Chapter 5, and the findings from its application are discussed in Chapter 6.

4.4. The advantages and disadvantages of co-production

Co-production is a production method. In this sense, whether it is better or worse than other production methods depends on what is being produced and how good co-production is at achieving those outcomes. Much of the co-production literature tends to assume that co-production is a fundamentally 'good thing', although some writers (Bovaird, 2007; Needham, 2007; Ostrom, 1996) do consider the limits and potential disadvantages. In discussing the advantages and disadvantages of co-production, it is useful to make a distinction between the primary outputs, e.g. exhibitions, health services and rubbish collection, and secondary outcomes, e.g. '*enhancing the morale of bureaucrats and citizens*' (Needham, 2007), empowering users or improving accountability. Primary outputs tend to be discussed in terms of effectiveness and efficiency and are often taken for granted in the literature. Secondary outcomes are more politically loaded, and their relative merits depend on an individual's ideological perspective. This section identifies and discusses some of the potential advantages and disadvantages of co-production with reference to temporary exhibitions in museums.

4.4.1. More effective

One advantage of co-production is that it can be a more effective production process, i.e. it results in goods or services that are more appropriate, of better quality and/or bring greater satisfaction to the end-user. Greater effectiveness is a result of the providers being more aware of, and therefore better able to meet, the needs and preferences of the users (Boyle & Harris, 2009; Needham, 2007; Percy, 1984). In public services, co-production may be seen as a

substitute for the market forces of supply and demand, but museums are already subject to market forces, albeit it to varying degrees. In some cases, the influence of market forces is indirect but still real, e.g. a museum that is entirely funded by public subsidy that fails to attract visitors will struggle to survive. More directly, many museums earn a significant proportion of their costs from trading activities, including charging for entry to temporary exhibitions and/or related merchandising. It has been suggested that co-production can help museums increase their relevance to potential users (Govier, 2010). However, co-production is only one way to make a museum service more responsive to its audience, and whether it is better than, say, in-depth visitor research is debatable. Aside from increasing the relevance to the potential audience, co-production may improve the effectiveness of an exhibition in other ways, by improving both the quality and quantity of objects, information and/or skills available, e.g. by borrowing objects from another collection or working with outside experts to write the text boards.

4.4.2. *More efficient*

A second advantage of co-production is the potential to produce more for the same (or in some cases reduced) resources. Co-production can, potentially, be a cheaper method of production, because it taps into resources that were otherwise unavailable. In some fields, notably healthcare, the possibility of reducing costs by preventative co-production projects, such as healthy living initiatives, is an advantage, but, as Govier points out, this is not an advantage of co-production for museums: ' ... *museums are not looking to reduce demand for what they offer ...* ' (Govier, 2010). In the production of museum exhibitions,

the use of volunteers, rather than paid staff, may offer potential savings, although this is highly debatable and cannot be taken for granted. Volunteers are not free. To be effective, volunteers have on costs, for example recruitment, training and management support (Brudney, 1993; Paine, Davis-Smith, & Howlett, 2006). When these costs are taken into account, the financial value of volunteers is reduced. Of course, any cost savings will depend on the nature of the exhibition and the nature of the volunteers. In some cases, the involvement of volunteers can result in savings or, more frequently, budgets being stretched to achieve more. The cost advantages of co-production may be more compelling when the external parties are specialists. There were a number of examples in the case studies where highly skilled volunteers performed tasks that saved the museum money, e.g. translation services and graphic design. The efficiency argument may also apply when the external parties are paid. It may be a better use of resources to buy in specialist skills, e.g. researchers and designers, as and when required rather than maintaining personnel on the museum's permanent staff team. There may be cost advantages to some forms of co-production, but increased efficiency does not appear to be the reason why museum practitioners opt for co-production.

4.4.3. Empowerment

Empowerment in this context is usually used to describe the potential of co-production to give users of a service more control over their destiny. This can take the form of the user developing new skills, acquiring knowledge and/or experiencing emotional benefits. Involving previously passive users in the production process can result in the users gaining a sense of self-esteem from

being useful and productive (Govier, 2010). Users involved in co-produced projects may also develop a better understanding of the choices facing the traditional providers, making them more appreciative of the challenges and therefore more informed consumers (Brudney & England, 1983a; Leadbeater, 2004; Needham, 2007).

4.4.4. A tool for social change

Closely linked to ideas about empowerment are suggestions that co-production offers a route to social change. Not only can it shift power away from the professionalised experts and towards the users, but it offers a new way of thinking about how we produce collective services. Edgar Cahn is an influential leader of a particular strand of co-production, and he sees the overriding advantage of co-production as route to social justice and the recognition of invisible labour (Cahn, 2008). Cahn argues that co-production is a partnership between the monetary economy (public, private and not-for-profit sectors) and the core economy (home, family and civic society), and combining these two economies will result in a better society. Elements of this radical view of co-production appear in the work of other writers, for example as a tool for transformational change in adult social care (Needham & Carr, 2009) and in building a new model for public-sector provision (Boyle, Coote, Sherwood, & Slay, 2010). In the museum sector, this desire to use co-production as a tool of change can be seen, for example, in the ideas behind the participatory museum (Simon, 2010), Mark O'Neill's direction of Glasgow Museums (Bruce & Hollows, 2007; O'Neill, 2006) and ongoing research by Bernadette Lynch for the Paul Hamlyn Foundation (Paul Hamlyn Foundation, 2010).

4.4.5. Accountability

The impact of co-production on accountability can be seen as either enhancing or reducing accountability. How this is viewed appears to depend on three factors: first, how accountability is understood, in particular to whom the museum is meant to be accountable and for what; second, the nature of the co-production; and third, who is involved.

Those who see co-production as a way of increasing accountability and democratic control argue that those in receipt of publicly funded services are in a good position to judge the quality of those services and that their opinions are at least as important as those of professional experts. In more traditional models of public-service production, specifically those not regulated by the market, a 'democratic deficit' (Holden, 2006; Horner, Lekhi, & Blaug, 2006) can emerge as experts make decisions about the allocation of resources and the quality of services. This is the central argument behind 'cultural value' (Holden, 2004, 2006; Horner et al., 2006).

There is evidence to suggest that those involved in co-production feel that their participation enhances accountability (Sullivan, Barnes, Newman, & Knops, 2004), although this may simply mean that the participants have greater opportunity to voice their opinions. The key issue concerns the relative weight, and decision-making power, that should be given to experts in comparison to the mass of individual users. Not all forms of co-production are equally able to increase the accountability or democratic control of projects. If this is the desired outcome, then particular activities, for example citizen juries (Wakeford,

Singh, Murtuja, Bryant, & Pimbert, 2008) or representation at board level (Bandelli et al., 2009), are more likely to deliver increased accountability than other forms of co-production. While certain forms of co-production may result in more democratically accountable services, it is not automatically the case. It rather depends on who the external parties are and what roles they perform.

There are those who recognise that co-production may reduce, rather than enhance, accountability. There are two areas of concern. First, by blurring the boundaries between the private and public sectors, it becomes less clear who is responsible (Bovaird, 2007; Joshi & Moore, 2003). The fact that this paradox is recognised does not make it any less of a concern (Bovaird, 2007). Second, it is possible that involving and working with a particular group of people reduces the accountability to the wider public. Co-production can, therefore, reduce accountability by muddying the line of responsibility and by some groups having a disproportionately loud voice. A key question is: To whom should a museum be accountable? There are a number of possible candidates, including the people who use the museum and the people who pay for it, e.g. tax payers and private donors.

4.4.6. More potential for conflict

A potential disadvantage of co-production is the increased likelihood of conflict and disagreement. In comparison with other production methods, there is likely to be a greater mixture of opinions and values of those involved (Bovaird, 2007; Taylor, 1995), and this may result in disagreements. Having a greater diversity of opinions and attitudes in a team is not necessarily a bad thing, but it needs to

be managed well to bring positive results (Gerzon, 2006). Creative disagreement and conflict can be very positive and produce superior results in a museum exhibition (Ames, 1992), and presumably other areas of museum work.

4.4.7. Less efficient

In direct contrast to arguments that co-production can result in more being done with less (4.4.1), there are others who suggest that co-production may require more resources. This was recognised by some of the interviewees in this research, for example the need for additional time to allow for feedback and the flow of information. It has been suggested that this need for additional resources is sometimes used as a barrier to involving external parties (Simon, 2010).

What emerges from this exploration of the advantages and disadvantages of co-production is that different types of co-production appear to result in different outcomes; the expected outcomes are not guaranteed; and there is a lack of consensus on the advantages and disadvantages of co-production.

Furthermore, how individuals assess the appropriateness of co-production appears to depend on two factors: the ultimate objective and the values of those involved. Where the aims of the project and/or museum are poorly articulated, it is difficult (perhaps impossible) to assess whether co-production is the most appropriate production method. Individual and organisational values play a significant part not only in defining the desired outcomes but also in selecting the most appropriate production method.

It may be an oversimplification, but two set of values appear to emerge from the literature as particularly important: market values and public-service values. Those who hold market values along the lines of neo-liberal free marketers believe that the self-interested decisions of individuals will result in the public good. With this mindset, co-production is good because it cuts out the bureaucrats and allows the consumer to make decisions, giving power to the consumer. On the other hand, those with public-service values believe that markets are not the most appropriate method of delivering public goods and that the rational planning of public services is necessary. Those with this mindset may use co-production to help shape services, but recognise that the expert may know better than the individual consumer. Objectives and values are important themes in this thesis and are issues we will return to.

4.5. Conclusion

Co-production is defined as

'... a process through which inputs from individuals who are not "in" the same organisation are transformed into goods and services.' (Ostrom, 1996).

This encompasses a spectrum of participatory practice that fits the involvement of external parties in the production of museum exhibitions. As well as clarifying what is meant by co-production, this chapter has discussed the perceived advantages and disadvantages of co-production, illustrating the variety of opinions around co-production. In doing so, it has suggested that different sets of values appear to influence perceptions of the desirable outcomes and application of co-production. The significance of values in shaping the nature of co-production was borne out in this study. In explaining the patterns and variations of external involvement in the production of exhibitions, values

appeared to play a key role. How individual, project and organisational values interact to influence the type of co-production, and potentially other activities in the museum, is something that the coming chapters will explore in greater detail.

5. Methodology

5.1. Introduction

The question addressed by this research is: Why does the pattern of co-production in temporary exhibitions vary in different museum settings? This chapter explains how the research was carried out and why it was conducted as it was. Three important factors underpin the research design: first, my epistemology; second, the nature of the research question; and third, the state of existing research. I will consider each of these in turn, beginning by setting out the research philosophy that underpinned the research design. The chapter then proceeds to discuss possible research designs, considering a number of options before explaining the choice of a largely qualitative inductive approach using multiple case studies. This section closes with a reflection on my role as a researcher and the limitations of the chosen methodological approach. The second section explains how the research was conducted. It sets out the unit of analysis and, briefly, discusses the evolving role of temporary exhibitions in museums. This research used theoretical sampling to select the cases, and there is an explanation of the thinking behind this approach and how it worked in the three distinct phases of the research project. This is followed with a description of the cases and methods used to collect the data. Ethical considerations and procedures are also considered in this section. The third section focuses on how the data was analysed, setting out the iterative approach and the analytical frameworks. The conclusion draws these threads together.

5.2. Research philosophy

My epistemological approach can be described as critical realism (Archer & Bhaskar, 1998; Bhaskar, 1998; Danermark, Ekstrom, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 2002; Fleetwood, 2005; Miles & Huberman, 1994). I believe there is a real world that can be investigated, but that there are different layers of this reality. This belief informs both my understanding of what it is possible to know and how I approached the research.

Realism distinguishes three levels of reality: the empirical level; the actual level; and the real or deep level of structures, mechanisms and powers (Smith, 1998, p.299). The actual level of reality exists independently of an individual's perception of it or any social construction to understand it. Examples of actual reality include the objects in an exhibition and the number of volunteers working in a museum. The empirical level is how we access this actual level through, for example, perceptions, impressions and sense data. Examples of empirical reality include an individual's experience of the process of co-production, or a visitor's experience of an exhibition. Empirical reality may thus be biased, incomplete or distorted, but it is what I am working with as a researcher. The third level of reality identified by Smith is real or deep reality. These are the social structures and frameworks, which, although invisible and hard to identify, are the fundamental cause of actions and events. These structures contribute to mechanisms generating particular effects given certain conditions. The focus of this research has been to illuminate as far as possible some of the ways in which such structures and mechanisms operate.

Our subjectivity and active construction of reality mean that all knowledge is fallible, but, critical realists would argue, some forms of knowledge are more fallible than others (Danermark et al., 2002). This means that the findings of my research will not be 'true' in the simplistic sense of positivist objective truth, but aim at 'practical adequacy' (Sayer, 1992 p.65) based on my analysis of co-production in this specific context, with the potential for useful application to describe (and potentially even predict) behaviour and activities in another context.

How a person understands a situation depends on a mixture of the actual events, individual perceptions of it, reports from intermediaries, social norms and the individual's fundamental personal values. Critical realist theory recognises this interplay between social structures and human agents (Archer & Bhaskar, 1998, p.371). Some writers have presented this as a series of hierarchical links (Danermark et al., 2002, p. 70), but one of the attractions of critical realism is its recognition of the complexity and unpredictability of the objects of social research (Smith, 1998 p.304). The complex mix of actual and socially constructed reality makes research into social phenomena, such as those explored in this study, complicated. My response to these challenges has been to expose the uncertainties when they arise and to make visible the context and social constructions, including my own, as much as possible. My research philosophy makes some research approaches more appropriate than others. A methodology that would allow for the complexities of socially constructed phenomena to be investigated was required.

5.2.1. Grounded theory

The research question concerned how museums create exhibitions, in particular those exhibitions that involve external parties. The research aimed to identify and understand why the pattern of involvement varied in different museum settings and make suggestions on what this means for museum management more generally. This deals with a number of complex ideas, including the most basic of questions, i.e. what is the purpose of museums? It also asks, why museums ought to (or ought not) involve external parties in their activities and explores how external parties are involved in the creation of temporary exhibitions. These questions deal largely with people, their behaviour and their perceptions. In order to understand the topic, the research design needed to explore complex social processes, for example the motivation for selecting specific external parties and the perceived impact of their involvement. Another consideration in establishing an approach to the research was the degree to which this topic had already been researched. There appears to be little research into the co-production of temporary exhibitions in museums; as a result, there is not an obvious model to follow or established theory to test.

Given these factors, a grounded theory approach (Glaser, 1996; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Goulding, 2002, 2009) was adopted because it was consistent with a critical realist epistemology; allowed the complex socially constructed meanings around the exhibition-making process to be explored; and allowed for elements of different theories to be applied to the data in order to extend or qualify existing theory and develop new theory. A number of variations of grounded theory and its methodology have been discussed (Buchanan &

Bryman, 2009; Kendall, 1999; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Since the 1960s, the originators of grounded theory, Glaser and Strauss, have developed their ideas in different ways. Strauss's version of grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) focuses on complex formulaic versions of coding techniques, such as open, axial and selective coding (Goulding, 2002, p.47). On the other hand, Glaser stresses the interpretive and emergent nature of theory development (Goulding, 2002, p.47). The present research used a version of grounded theory that is closer to Glaser's interpretation than to Strauss's. The key elements of this approach were: the use of existing literature to sensitise me to relevant concepts, rather than directing the research in a particular direction (Goulding, 2002); case studies were selected using theoretical sampling (Goulding, 2002, p.66); and data was collected in an iterative process (Goulding, 2002, p.68).

The data was analysed in a number of stages which are discussed in more detail later in this chapter (5.7). At this point it is worth highlighting the use of pre-conceived analytic frameworks, which may be seen as a deviation from strict grounded theory principles. I argue that the way in which I used them was in keeping with a grounded theory approach and reflects a high degree of theoretical sensitivity and the "messy" nature of developing new theory (Parkhe, 1993; Suddaby, 2006). In my effort to understand the patterns emerging from the data I used a number of existing frameworks, including Bovaird's matrix of co-production (Bovaird, 2007), the project management process groups (Project Management Institute, 2008) and Gordon's exhibition variables framework (Gordon, 2010). The Competing Values Framework (Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981) played a particularly significant role in developing new theory. My use of

these frameworks was part of the iterative process, (i.e. gathering of data, reflection, return to the field, reference to existing literature and development of new theory) and, as such, is in keeping with a grounded theory approach. In addition the existing frameworks were significantly adapted to suit the data rather than selecting the data to fit into existing structures. The adaptation and use of the matrix of co-production and the Competing Values Framework is explained in Chapters 6 and 7 respectively.

5.2.2. My role as a researcher

I am aware that my role as a researcher is not neutral. In addition to laying out my research philosophy and methodological approach, it is worth explaining my professional background and indicating how this may influence the research. Before beginning my Ph.D. research, I worked in the museum sector for 13 years. I had various roles, including assistant curator, education officer, museum manager, development officer and museum director. Most of my experience was in the local authority sector, but my last job was setting up a new independent charitable museum. During that time, I was involved in numerous temporary exhibitions in a variety of ways, including project planning, applying for grants, object selection, writing text, designing the layout, building displays and devising learning activities for exhibitions. In some roles, I was responsible for exhibition programming, i.e. the selection of exhibition topics and the length of exhibitions. I have also worked on the redisplay and creation of permanent galleries, notably at the Roald Dahl Museum and Story Centre. Most of my experience has been in smaller community museums working with teams of staff and volunteers, but I also have experience of managing larger

budgets and external exhibition designers. In addition, while I was working towards my Ph.D., I was a senior volunteer with the National Trust, five years as a trustee and two years as a member of their advisory learning panel. This meant that I was part of strategic discussions about display and interpretation at National Trust properties. This experience has influenced my choice of topic and my approach to the research. In order to avoid any conflict of interests, I did not select any cases in National Trust properties, thus removing the 138 (MLA, 2009) museums run by the National Trust from the research population. My professional background was a positive advantage in investigating the research question because I had a practical understanding of producing exhibitions. It also helped participants to accept me as a peer and made them more likely to provide good-quality information (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

5.3. Research design

Given my philosophical perspective, purely positivist quantitative methods were inappropriate since they would not allow for the complexity of the socially constructed issues to be investigated. This ruled out a number of methods, such as statistical analysis of questionnaires, very structured interviews or experimental research methods. There are a number of research designs that were consistent with a grounded theory approach, but were rejected for other reasons. Three in particular were given serious consideration, and it is worth explaining why they were rejected in favour of multiple case studies.

5.3.1. Options

The key characteristic of action research (Lewin, 1958; Reason & Bradbury, 2001) is that the researcher works collaboratively with the participants with the aim of improving the situation. There are recent examples of action research being used in a museum context (Angus & Smith, 2004; Lemelin, 2002; Paine et al., 2006; Rose, 2006; Suchy, 2004). In addition, the emphasis on making changes based on research was attractive. However, action research was rejected for practical reasons. This approach demands a significant commitment from the participants, which complicates access arrangements. To be successful, this approach needs all parties to see a potential benefit from the research, and, therefore, for action research to work effectively, the research topic needs to be agreed jointly. All of this takes time, and the list of suitable venues that might be willing to participate gets shorter. An action research approach was discussed with one of the proposed museums, but the gatekeeper considered that an action research approach did not fit in with the organisation's priorities and the level of staff time needed would be prohibitive.

Another method that was considered was a historical approach, using archival records such as visitor reports, reviews, letters and curatorial diaries and comparing them with similar modern records. There are examples of a historical approach to organisational culture and strategy (Brunninge, 2009; Karsten, Keulen, Kroeze, & Peters, 2009; Rowlinson, 2005; Rowlinson & Procter, 1999), although little was found on it being used to understand museums. Some exploratory work was done to assess the amount of relevant material. Again, the reasons for rejecting a historical approach were largely

practical. Locating adequate archival material was not straightforward. While evocative descriptions of old exhibitions exist, this data seems to be patchy and one-sided. Therefore, a comparison with modern records is unlikely to help address the research question.

A third research design that was considered was some form of exhibition analysis, which combines elements of discourse analysis (Wetherell, Taylor, & Yates, 2001) with aesthetic and visual theory (Rose, 2007; Stafford, 1996). There are examples of exhibitions being analysed using methods similar to semiotic analysis, which regard the exhibition as 'text'. This method attempts to unpick the meaning of an exhibition by breaking it down into component elements and commenting on the classifications, juxtapositions and omissions. It has been suggested that permanent and temporary exhibitions are the most obvious part of the '*public language*' of a museum (Krautler, 1995, p.59), and a number of writers have applied a proto-linguistic analysis to museum exhibitions and displays. Susan Pearce has applied Saussurian semiotics to exhibitions and collections (Pearce, 1990, 1994). Gaby Porter has used similar techniques to examine gender biases in museum exhibitions (Porter, 1991; Porter, 1996). Thought was given to whether this method could be used to compare and contrast exhibitions that were created with external parties with those that had been created without external input. The main reason for rejecting this kind of method was because it focuses on the final exhibition rather than the process of production, and as such would not obviously allow scope to explore the management implications of different ways of producing an exhibition.

5.3.2. Multiple case studies

A multiple case study was considered the most appropriate research design for a variety of reasons. A significant advantage of case studies is their strong ecological validity, since the data is collected from a real-life setting (Crotty, 1998). A good case study collects data from a variety of sources (Yin, 1994), and this improves the validity of the findings because the data can be triangulated. In addition, the robust evidence base that case studies can provide can allow for the development of new theory (Eisenhardt, 1989; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2006). Where there is not a substantial existing body of empirical data, as in this situation, case studies are good tools for exploratory research, providing initial analysis. Case studies can be used to test out hypothesis and they can also be used to build theory in an iterative and developmental manner (Eisenhardt, 1989; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Case studies allow for empirically valid theory to be developed, i.e. theory that closely mirrors reality (Eisenhardt, 1989). A criticism of case studies is that they do not provide enough information to generalise the findings to other situations. This perceived disadvantage can be moderated by creating a number of case studies, gathering information from a range of sources and triangulating the data (Jonson & Jehn, 2009). Collecting multiple case studies means that the phenomena can be explored in a variety of settings and, as a result, increases the possibility of theorising the research beyond the immediate context. It is also possible to challenge the criticism by asking whether case studies are any less generalisable than other forms of research (Yin, 1994). The range and variety of the cases meant that direct comparison was not straightforward, but

the sample was selected in order to get information from a wide variety of museum contexts.

5.3.3. The phases of research

In retrospect, it is possible to divide the research into three distinct phases: initial exploration and emerging themes; reaching theoretical saturation; and refining the theory.

1. Initial exploration and emerging themes

This exploratory phase consisted of reading the literature and included the collection of six cases. As data was collected, each case was analysed inductively as a unit. This within-case analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994) included the identification of themes from the interview transcripts, photographs and other data. This evidence suggested that the type of the museum in terms of size, governance and operational model made a difference to how and why external parties were involved. Therefore, efforts were made to collect information from a wide variety of museums. The selection of cases is discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

2. Reaching theoretical saturation

During this phase, the emerging themes were explored in a variety of settings. Cross-case analysis began during this phase, and further cases were selected to explore particular aspects of co-production, such as guest curators (16. Music) and particular contexts, such as volunteer-run museums (13. Pilots, 14. Farming and 15. Graphic Art). An important part of this phase involved

checking and confirming the emerging themes. Therefore, in July 2009, I had two conversations with senior museum practitioners (see appendix A9). These conversations allowed me to check the themes that were emerging from the data, for example the reasons why museums involved external parties. It was also an opportunity to discuss possible explanations for the different patterns of co-production, and we discussed different types of museums. It was during this phase that I developed analytic frameworks to compare and contrast specific issues across the cases. These frameworks were driven by the data and analysis. Having ordered and re-ordered the concepts and categories into different configurations I returned to the relevant literature and, where I found frameworks which resonated with the data, I adapted them in order to help make sense of the emerging patterns. This use of existing conceptual frameworks contextualised the data and informed the theoretical development.

When new data fails to reveal any new evidence, theoretical saturation is said to have been achieved (Goulding, 2002; Glaser and Strauss, 1967). This phase was spent analysing the data and developing the core categories. It also included the completion of the final two case studies. At this stage, the themes and issues that had emerged in the earlier cases were also emerging from the later cases, suggesting that theoretical saturation had been reached.

3. Refining the theory

The aim of grounded theory is to generate new theory that explains the patterns and is relevant to those being studied (Glaser, 1978; Goulding, 2002). Having developed ideas about why the pattern of co-production varied in the cases studied, I tested these out with practitioners (appendix A10 for details). I began

these interviews by explaining what I had been researching and the conclusions that I had come to. A key part of this was explaining the Museum Values Framework (6.4), and asking whether this made sense in their working environment.

5.3.4. Limitations

No methodology is perfect, and there are limitations to the chosen approach. Possibly the most significant problem is the limited generalisability of the findings. Grounded theory develops new theory by exploring a particular phenomenon in a particular context. The nature of this approach means that it does not result in findings that can be generalised to other contexts in the same way that statistically reliable quantitative research might be. The research can suggest patterns and correlations, but it will not identify definite cause and effects. The theoretical sampling method adds to the research's lack of generalisability driven, as it is, by looking for the phenomena rather than by gathering data from a representative sample. While the sample includes examples from different types of museums across Britain, it is not representative; there is a bias towards exhibitions and museums that were open to the involvement of external parties. A further potential criticism of this methodology is that the focus is too wide to draw meaningful findings. It is true that the breadth of the sample and the wide definition used for external parties made direct comparisons between the cases difficult. However, the variety of cases was necessary to explore the topic, and comparisons can be drawn.

Despite these concerns, the advantages of grounded theory, theoretical sampling and multiple case studies outweigh the disadvantages. Above all, multiple case studies have strong ecological validity, since the data is gathered in a variety of natural settings and the triangulation of data from a variety of sources can produce robust data (Jonson and Jehn, 2009). The credibility of the findings is enhanced by the systematic interpretation of the data using a series of analytic frameworks and typologies (6.3) and by checking both the emerging themes and the new theory with museum practitioners (appendix A9 and A10). Given the research question, the state of existing theory and my epistemology, I believe that this research design was an appropriate one.

5.4. Unit of analysis and sample

This section provides more details about the unit of analysis, the population and sample.

5.4.1. Temporary exhibitions

The unit of analysis for this research was the temporary exhibition. This was selected because exhibitions are a core function of museums and because their temporary nature meant they could be studied within the scope of the Ph.D. project. The centrality of exhibitions to museums (Bienkowski, 1994) and the fact that they involve a range of museum functions (Lord and Lord, 2001, pp.1–3) made them an ideal focus for an exploration of co-production in a museum environment. Exhibitions vary in the time that they take to create, but the life cycle from concept to opening the exhibition is usually less than two to three

years. Another practical consideration was that the number of exhibitions meant that there were plenty of potential case studies.

The concept of exhibitions has been explored in the previous chapter, but it is worth clarifying how this research defined 'temporary exhibition'. The unit of analysis for this research is the traditional form of exhibition consisting of tangible objects in a venue for a specific time period. The research assumed that the key feature of a temporary exhibition was the display of material (e.g. objects, art and photographs) for an audience. The temporary exhibitions considered by this research all had a physical presence in a venue. Most of the temporary exhibitions included in the case studies did have associated programmes of, for example, talks, workshops, schools sessions and digital activities. The research did take note of these associated activities, but the focus was on the physical exhibition because this was the primary activity.

5.4.2. External parties

The aim of the research was to understand why the pattern of co-production varied in different museum settings. In order to do this, it was necessary to examine how a wide spectrum of groups and individuals contributed to the production process in a range of settings. Therefore, the term 'external party' is used to identify any individual or group who is not part of the permanent staff team. This is in line with Elinor Ostrom's previously cited definition of co-production as

'... a process through which inputs from individuals who are not "in" the same organisation are transformed into goods and services' (Ostrom, 1996).

'External parties' in this research included a range of individuals and groups, such as community groups, local residents, students, volunteers, staff from other museums, university academics as well as consultants. It is recognised that the various external parties have particular relationships with the museum. The role and status of paid consultants, for instance, differ from those who contribute in an unpaid capacity. Also, while staff from other museums may share the professional norms of the host museum's personnel, they may not necessarily share the host museum's organisational culture. That is to say that the degree to which the external parties are part of the host museum's community of practice (Wenger 1998) varies.

5.4.3. Selecting the case studies

Sampling has a profound effect on the quality of any research regardless of the methodological approach (Goulding, 2002, p.66). Achieving the best understanding of the phenomena depends on choosing the case study well (Stake, 2005). For this research, the cases were selected on the basis of theoretical sampling (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Eisenhardt, 1989). This means that the process of selecting samples is an on-going part of the data collection, and that cases are selected because they allow for a particular aspect of the research to be explored as relevant theoretical categories emerge (Goulding, 2002, p.66-68). Grounded theory is an iterative process, as data is gathered and analysed simultaneously (Goulding, 2002, p.68). This makes it difficult to separate the sampling process from the findings, as the selection of cases is driven by the emerging themes. In this research, cases were selected through the process of progressive focusing (Holloway, 1997; Stake, 1981), i.e. a staged

process where the researcher identifies the most relevant aspects of the phenomena in the field and gradually focuses on those.

There were four core criteria that remained constant throughout the research. In order to answer the research question, it was necessary to examine cases where there was evidence of external involvement in the creation of the exhibition, so this was the first criterion. By visiting an exhibition, it was usually possible to find clues to involvement, e.g. text boards thanking people for their contribution and labels giving details of where an object was on loan from, but these are not always present nor do these clues reveal the extent of the involvement. I also used information from exhibition reviews, on-line material and word of mouth to identify possible exhibitions. In order to limit the sample to museums, rather than museum-like organisations, the second criterion was that the host museum must be accredited. This national quality assurance scheme, administered by the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council, includes 1,807 museums (MLA, 2007). Although this reduced the number of possible host museums, it avoided the problems of definition, discussed in the previous chapter. The third criterion for selection was that the exhibition should have a largely historical topic. The decision to narrow the field of study by discounting scientific or art exhibitions was made in order to better identify this particular community of practice (Wenger, 1998) and to assist with making meaningful comparisons. While some of the exhibitions in the sample do include elements of science and/or art, the overall perspective was a historical one. The final criterion was that the host museum was located in mainland Britain, i.e. in England, Wales or Scotland. This was made largely on the grounds of practicality, i.e. the researcher being able to get to the venues,

although it also helped to focus the research to a particular community of practice. Within these basic criteria, there was considerable variation in terms of the exhibition topic, the space it occupied, the duration of the exhibition and budget. While these core criteria established a degree of comparability, there remained a wide variety of host museums in terms of location, size and organisational type.

5.4.4. Selecting the interviewees

The pool of potential interview participants was large. Given the range and number of people who might be involved, the list of potential participants was a long one. An argument could have been made for gathering data from a wide variety of stakeholders (Freeman, 1984). However, since the research question is concerned with the management implications of a more participatory exhibition process, a decision was made to focus on the people who worked to create the exhibitions, for example by deciding on the key themes, selecting objects, writing the labels and text etc. In most, but not all, cases this meant museum employees. I targeted the person who led the exhibition team, but in larger exhibitions (and where I could get agreement) more than one participant was interviewed. Having more than one interviewee brought another perspective to the data and allowed the information to be triangulated. If the research question was concerned with assessing whether or not exhibitions that involve external parties are better than, or in some other way different to, those that are created without, then it would have made sense to gather data from the consumers as well as the creators. Indeed, this might be an interesting area for future research.

Altogether, 28 interviewees were involved. The division between men and women was fairly equal (16 women and 12 men). The interviewees ranged in age from 22 to 61. The majority (20) were part of the paid museum team. Six are best described as volunteers, one was employed as a lecturer at a university and another worked for the museum as a freelancer. There was some variety in the roles they performed; 12 had the word 'curator' as part of their job title. A table giving details of the interviewees is included in the Appendix – A5.

5.4.5. Progressive focusing

As explained in the section above, there were three distinct phases in the research process. While the core criteria for selecting the cases and the interviewees remained the same throughout the research, there were differences in each phase.

1. Getting in

Since many museum exhibitions involve external parties, a number of museums could have been selected. During the initial phase, the selection of cases was shaped by the likelihood of gaining access and of gathering useful information. This is in line with the grounded theory approach, where initial cases are selected because they are obvious and likely informants (Goulding, 2002, p.67). Practical factors were influential during this initial phase of research. I used existing contacts to gain access as well as cold calling museums in locations that I happened to be visiting. While most venues were welcoming, a number of

approaches failed to result in interviews. I made efforts to reach beyond my known networks, but negotiating access was easier when I had some kind of previous connection with the museum; this was particularly true for smaller, volunteer-run museums. I set out to look at a range of different types of museums and aimed for maximum variation (Sandelowski, 1995) to allow for comparison between types. The first six exhibitions had budgets ranging from £400 to £200,000, and dealt with topics as diverse as the Iron Age and the history of a local school. Most of these initial cases were drawn from museums in England, but there was considerable variation in the organisational type. These cases included one from a national museum, two from university museums and three from independent museums. Key characteristics should not necessarily be the only thing that determines the selection of the cases (Stake, 1981). While balance and variety are important, Stake says that the opportunity to learn is often more important. In practice, this meant grasping opportunities when they arose rather than searching for the 'ideal' case. This phase included two exhibitions (1. School and 4. Victorian) that had been taken down before I interviewed the participants, so I was not able to view the exhibitions. However, in both cases, photographs and copies of the text were available, and the opportunity to interview the key people was more important than seeing the final exhibition. Unsurprisingly, not all my approaches resulted in full case studies. However, some exhibitions that I visited with a view to including as a case study did help to shape my thinking by providing examples of various kinds of external involvement.

2. Exploring exhibitions in different museum contexts

Having reflected on the data from the first six cases, the second phase of data collection was more selective. The first phase of research suggested that the size of the museum was not always the most significant factor in influencing whether staff would work with external parties when creating exhibitions or how they did so. The exhibition topic, the culture and leadership within the museum and the individuals involved all appeared to be significant. The aim of the second phase of research was about exploring these emerging themes and broadening the sample. In order to select the most appropriate case studies, I wanted to understand the population better. To this end, I created a database of the museums in Britain (Appendix – A6). The reason for doing this was not simply to get a more representative sample (although this was one of the outcomes), but to see how external parties were involved in different museum contexts. Although England has more museums than the other home nations I was keen to collect cases from Wales and Scotland in order to offset the bias towards museums that were geographically closer to my home and to investigate differences under the devolved governments. The selection of cases was also influenced by the opportunities to explore the emerging themes. Specifically I wanted to look at:

- the origins of exhibitions. In particular I looked for examples of joint genesis, i.e. where the concept of an exhibition had been generated by the museum with an external party.
- diversity of organisational types within the museum sector. I looked for case studies in volunteer-run museums, smaller museums, local-authority museums and large national museums.

- why and how some museums are consciously moving towards a more participatory operational model. I looked for case studies where guest curators had been involved.
- different forms of external participation. This was in response to my dialogue with the co-production, museum studies and project management literature.

3. Checking and confirming

This final phase focused on understanding the material from the existing case studies and collecting the final case studies. As far as selecting the sample is concerned, it was about checking and confirming the emerging themes. As the later cases appeared to confirm the pertinent issues identified in the earlier case studies, I became increasingly confident that I was approaching theoretical saturation. However, since each case is unique and brings differences as well as similarities, it was difficult to be certain when theoretical saturation had been reached. The judgement about when theoretical saturation has been reached has to be a pragmatic one (Suddaby, 2006). I stopped collecting new data when I was reasonably sure that another case was not going to bring significantly new insights. In other words when the same issues were appearing in new cases. Also, given the time-limited nature of a Ph.D., it was important to spend time analysing and understanding the data that I had gathered.

5.5. Methods of data collection

A mixture of data from different sources was collected in order to create good case studies (Yin, 1994). The core methods of collecting data were visiting the exhibition and interviewing key members of the exhibition team. These were supplemented with more opportunistic data-collection methods, which differed from exhibition to exhibition depending what was available. This flexibility allowed me to take advantage of opportunities as they arose (Eisenhardt, 1989). For example, in 16. Music, I was able to download copies of the service's vision document and operational plan from the museum's website, and I got hold of a copy of the museum's interpretation strategy document. Similar levels of supplementary information were not available for all cases, either because they did not exist or, if they did, they were unobtainable.

5.5.1. Visiting exhibitions

Preliminary research to identify exhibitions with external involvement consisted of reviewing publicity material, e.g. leaflets and websites, and visiting exhibitions. The first step in negotiating access was normally a phone call followed up with emails and letters. Normally the researcher visited (or in some cases revisited) the exhibition prior to conducting an interview and, where possible, took photographs and collected relevant printed material, e.g. postcards and exhibition guides. After this, at least one semi-structured interview was conducted with a key member of the exhibition team; this was normally the person who had led the exhibition team.

5.5.2. Interviews

Interviews allow for ideas to be discussed and understandings checked (Kvale, 1996), which made them a useful data-collection tool for this research since the topic involves some complex ideas and the terminology is used inconsistently. There are disadvantages of using interview data; for example the participant may offer a one-sided version of the situation. There is also a risk that the participants are simply reproducing a 'cultural script', repeating familiar tales of how things ought to be (Barnes, Pashby, & Gibbons, 2006; Silverman, 2006). This does not negate the usefulness of interview data, but it does encourage the use of other data to triangulate the interview data.

The focus of the interviews also evolved during the research period. The initial interviews were wider ranging and later ones honed in on more specific topics. The exact questions asked in each interview differed depending on the exhibition and the participants' responses, but the interviews were steered by an outline that was prepared beforehand. The headings on the outline remained fairly similar for all the interviews (Appendix - A1), and each interview covered the production process, i.e. origin and early development of the exhibition concept, aims, target audience(s), resources and personnel. Questions were also asked about how exhibitions were planned at the museum and how exhibitions fitted in with the overall objectives of the museum. Each interviewee was asked a standard set of questions about their professional background and what they thought museums were for. When interviewing multiple participants about a single exhibition, the questions were adjusted in order to probe particular areas. For example, in Case 6. Iran, where the curator,

the project manager and the interpretation officer were interviewed, a number of the questions were identical but some focused on the participant's particular area of expertise.

The majority of the interviews were conducted face-to-face, but in one case (10. Landscape Prints) a second interview was done via email, and in another (17. Crusades) a telephone interview was conducted, after having met the participant at his museum. An audio recording of each interview was made and a transcript of the interview was typed up soon after the interview had taken place. This was done within two weeks of the interview, and a copy sent to the participants inviting them to check it for factual errors and for any sensitive material. I offered participants the opportunity to check the transcripts partly as a courtesy, but also in the expectation that if they knew they had a chance to retract what they said before I used it in my thesis they were more likely to relax and give me full and open answers. This approach seemed to be successful. Only three of the 28 participants expressed any concerns about the sensitivity of the material and in only one case was material retracted. This was in Case 12. Design, where the interviewee asked for one paragraph, out of a 29-page transcript, to be removed.

5.5.3. Other sources

In the course of the interviews, other material was often elicited, e.g. internal documents such as minutes of consultation meetings and exhibition briefs. I was also directed to further relevant material in the public domain, e.g. publications related to the exhibition, exhibition reviews and planning

documents. This material was not available for each case, but it was valuable in understanding each exhibition and allowed for within-case triangulation by providing alternative sources of information. It also helped to create thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) of the case studies, setting them into a wider organisational context.

5.5.4. The case studies

The final sample included 20 case studies drawn from museums of different sizes, governance types and geographical location. There were cases from small volunteer-run museums, as well as very large national services. There was also a range of exhibition topics. While most could be described as social history, there were also exhibitions that dealt with archaeology, medieval history, Middle Eastern history, industrial design, art and architecture. I do not want this data to dominate the thesis, but it is important to explain the source of the evidence for my argument, so a table summarising the 20 full case studies is provided in the appendix (Appendix - A7).

5.6. Ethical considerations

Since museum exhibitions are public spaces and much of the material gathered exists in the public domain, the main ethical issues concerned the interviewees.

5.6.1. Assessing the risks

The topic is not particularly controversial nor did the research involve vulnerable people, nevertheless it was essential to minimise the risk of harm to the participants. In line with Open University policy on research involving human participants, I endeavoured to gain informed consent, act with openness and integrity and protect the confidentiality of the participants (Open University, 2006). I also considered the Museums Association's ethical guidelines (Museums Association, 2008). As part of the planning process, I assessed potential risks to myself, to the individual participants and to the participating museums, and then took steps to avoid or minimise potential risks. The risk of harm was low. There was a risk that the participant might be disadvantaged in their workplace if, during the interview, they were critical of their organisation, and this was disclosed. This risk was avoided by not discussing the content of the interviews at the host museum or at any other museum. The risk was also minimised by, as far as possible, anonymising the data. When I contacted a potential interviewee, I explained who I was and the nature of the research. This was normally done over the phone, but in a few cases the initial contact was by email. Once the participant had agreed, in principle, to be interviewed, I sent them a letter that gave details of the research; it also explained how the information would be used and that they were entitled to withdraw their consent at any time. The letter explained that I could not guarantee to protect the identity of the participants, since it might be possible to identify a museum or an individual from the descriptions of the cases, but that I was going to anonymise the data they gave me (Appendix -A2). When I met the interviewees, I reiterated the information in the letter and checked that they were happy to

proceed. In order to be sure that informed consent was given, I asked the interviewees to sign a consent form at the time of the interview (Appendix - A3). In order to protect the confidentiality of the participants, personal information, such as names and contact details, was separated from the data at an early stage. This information, records about negotiating access and the consent forms were filed in a specific file. The name of the museum and the names of the interview participants were removed from the case study data, which was kept in separate, dedicated files. As mentioned above, participants were given the opportunity to check a transcript of the interview. This was done in the spirit of openness and to reduce any remaining anxieties that the participants may have had. Possible risks to the participating museums were discussed with the gatekeepers, for example potential damage to the museum's reputation. However, the 20 museums that became full case studies were happy to discuss projects and information that was largely already in the public domain. It may be that museums with greater concerns avoided becoming part of the sample by declining to participate, which has implications for the nature of the sample.

5.6.2. Getting ethical approval

I applied for ethical permission from the Open University's Ethics Committee in October 2008. Permission was given in November 2008 (Appendix - A4).

I kept the committee informed about my research by updating them on changes to the original plan, so in June 2009 I emailed the chair of the university ethics committee to inform him that I was planning some additional interviews. These interviews were to check my emerging themes with key players in the field and would be conducted on slightly different terms. The main difference was that I

wanted to be able to attribute quotes. I received confirmation that this was acceptable. I emailed the chair again in early December 2009 to update the committee and tell them that I expected to complete my data collection by the end of February 2010.

5.7. Analytic methodology

The processes a researcher goes through in order to make sense of their data are often not made explicit (Eisenhardt, 1989; Miles & Huberman, 1994). This can lead to criticism about the validity of the findings. In an attempt to avoid such criticisms, I shall explain how I analysed the data. In line with a grounded theory approach, this was an iterative process with a series of analytical steps. The stages of the sense-making process corresponded to the three phases described in the previous chapter (i.e. initial exploration and examining emerging themes, theoretical saturation and refining the theory). In the early stages, the focus was on inductive within case analysis, and the main analytic tools were reflection in the field, memos and open coding. Once the emerging themes had been identified, it was possible to develop coding frameworks that enabled a more systematic analysis across the case studies. These frameworks included a typology of co-production and a system for exploring the depth of co-production. The final phase involved moving away from describing and towards explaining the patterns. It was during this phase that higher-order concepts and categories were constructed. As well as reflecting on the data I explored a variety of literature to help make sense of the patterns. Some offered useful context, e.g. types of co-production, stages of project management and exhibition making theory, but it was in the organisational

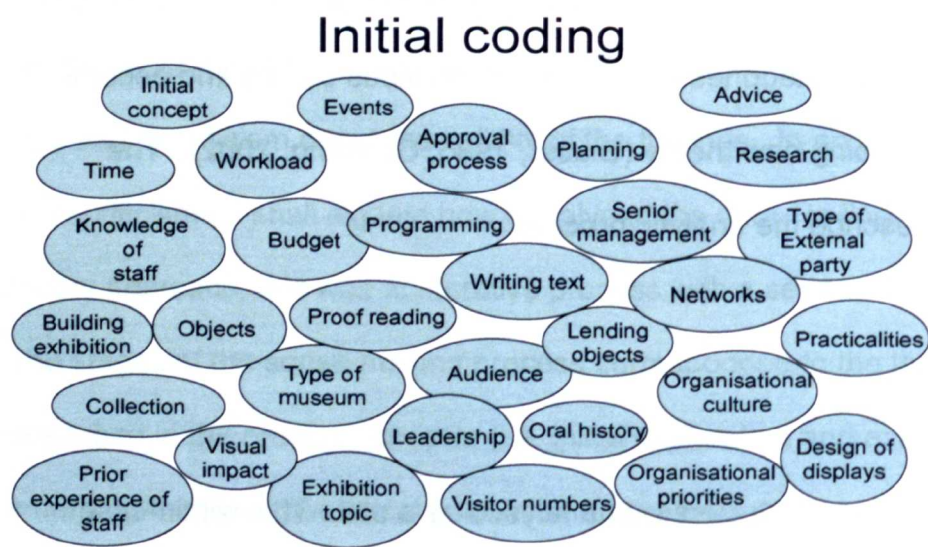
literature that I found a framework which really helped lift my analysis to the next level and towards new theory. This was not about forcing the data into pre-existing conceptual categories, which would have been against the principles of grounded theory. Instead it was about recognising that the patterns emerging from my research resonated with existing literature. The concept of values emerged as a particularly significant factor and by adapting the Competing Values Framework (Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981) I was able to analyse this in more detail and develop core categories around the concept of “values”. These core categories subsumed the previous coding and become the basis for developing new theory (Glaser, 1996; Goulding, 2002). The sections below describe the analytic process.

5.7.1. In-case analysis

As data was collected, each case was analysed as a unit. This within-case analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994) included the identification of themes from the interview transcripts, photographs and other data. The data, i.e. interview transcript, photographs, publicity material, exhibition briefs etc, was collected together and a summary of the key elements of the case study were written up as a unit. Each new case was written up like this throughout the research process. The main analytic tools in this early stage were: reflection, memos, open coding, constant comparison and returning to the field. From early in 2009 I kept a memo diary, reflecting on the data and research process. Memo writing is a key part of the grounded theory approach and allows concepts to be developed as well as providing a bank of ideas and directions for further theoretical sampling (Goulding, 2002). I used the memo diary to reflect on the

data, to link codes and concepts together, to record puzzling areas and to make a note of areas of further work; for instance, Figure 6 is an extract that shows how I was thinking through the coding. Even at this early stage I have begun to identify the importance of values, e.g. organisational culture, organisational priorities, type of museum etc.

Figure 6: Initial coding



Memo diary, 21st April 2009.

I went on to use NVivo to code some of the early case studies. At this stage, the analysis was dealing with the basic facts of the exhibition. This was a necessary first step in understanding perceptions of the participants and how these influenced their behaviour during the production of the exhibition. I used NVivo to record the key characteristics and context of each case, i.e.:

- Topic of exhibition
- Exhibition budget
- Target audience
- Size of exhibition
- Duration of exhibition
- The geographical location
- Type of museum

- Demographic details of the interview participant(s)
- Career history of the interview participant(s)

Then I explored the relationship between these and a range of themes:

- Functions of a museum
- External parties
- Staff team
- Exhibition approval process
- Processes once approved
- Development of exhibition concept
- Rationale for involving external parties
- Influences on the exhibition team/interviewee
- Planning the exhibition programme

After six case studies had been collected, it became possible to begin cross-case analysis, looking for patterns and comparing the case studies. By reflecting on the data, it was able to identify similarities and differences and to identify emerging themes. This reflection also formed the basis for the analytic coding frameworks used for the cross-case analysis. The research question was broken down into four more specific questions, namely:

1. What was the nature of the external involvement, i.e. in which part of the production process were external parties involved and what tasks were they performing?
2. What was the nature of the external parties, i.e. who is involved and what was their status?
3. How deep is the external involvement in terms of inputs and outputs?
4. What is the rationale behind external involvement? Why are the museum personnel involving external parties?

5.7.2. Cross-case analysis

There are two analytic procedures suggested by a grounded theory approach to move from description to theory. The first, axial coding, consists of identifying

the core category and seeing how the other concepts revolve around it (Goulding, 2002 p.78). The second analytic method is dimensional analysis, which was pioneered by a former colleague of Glaser and Strauss, Leonard Schatzman (Goulding, 2002; Schatzman, 1991). Dimensional analysis consists of studying multiple dimensions (or elements of the phenomenon) until the dimension(s) with the most explanatory power is (are) identified (Holloway, 1997; Robrecht, 1995; Schatzman, 1991). Dimensional analysis has been described as an exaggerated form of natural analysis which uses frameworks to identify the relationships between and across emerging phenomena (Goulding, 2002 p.79). In this research the interviewees' views about the functions of museums and the proper relationship between museums and their users appeared to be fundamentally important in deciding how exhibitions were created. This interview data, along with supporting evidence played an important role in adapting the Competing Values Framework and creating the Museums Values Framework.

5.7.3. Describing the pattern of co-production

An early step in codifying the data was identifying different elements of the exhibition making process. This was done to understand where in the production process co-production was taking place. Producing an exhibition is a creative process (Ames, 1992) and, as such, does not readily take to being divided into a series of clearly defined tasks. While some tasks must clearly precede others, the process of creating an exhibition is not a linear one. However, reflecting on the data and the existing literature on exhibition making (Alexander & Alexander, 2008; Caulton, 1998; Dean, 1996; Gordon, 2010a;

Lord and Lord, 2001; Taxen, 2004), a framework was devised that identified the key components of the process of production (figure 7).

Next the nature and depth of the co-production was assessed. As previously discussed (4.3), not all forms of co-production are the same and a number of frameworks exist in the co-production literature based on various factors, for instance, the function being performed, the nature of the external parties and their impact. While these informed the research, they did not seem to adequately reflect the way museum exhibitions are created emerging from my data. Therefore, a new typology, based on the research data and informed by existing literature, was developed. In developing this typology I looked specifically at what the exhibitions teams did and then grouped these activities together resulting in four functional areas, initiating, managing, designing and delivery. This typology, and how it was used to identify the nature of the external involvement, is set out in more detail in the next chapter. The pattern of co-production which emerged is summarised in Appendix - A11.

This analysis addressed the first three of the four questions set out above (5.7.1) and allowed me to look for links between various elements. Some links emerged from this analysis but, as the research progressed, it became clear that, in order to make sense of the emerging patterns a more sophisticated analytic tool was needed, to discover what factors (or dimensions) had the most explanatory power. This analysis needed to consider factors beyond the specific exhibition projects, for example the ethos of the host museum and the wider operational context. The initial analysis pointed to values as key influencing factors and the Competing Values Framework (Quinn & Rohrbaugh,

1981) offered a good basis from which to develop a framework to make sense of the data.

5.7.4. Developing analytic frameworks to explain the patterns

The research question was concerned not simply with identifying the pattern of co-production, but offering explanations for the variation in different museum settings; therefore, a further stage of analysis was necessary. I began this by comparing exhibition variables with the pattern of co-production found in the cases. While this did reveal some connections (for instance the size of the exhibition budget did influence the nature of the external parties and the tasks they performed), it did not fully answer the research question, i.e. why does the pattern for external involvement vary in different settings? It appeared that there were other important factors shaping the nature of co-production beyond the exhibition variables, for instance the attitudes of those involved, their working preferences and the organisational norms of the host museum. In order to explore possible influences, I used an adapted version of the Competing Values Framework (CVF) (Quinn 1988; Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981). The resulting Museum Values Framework (MVF) was a useful analytic tool and makes a theoretical and methodological contribution. The basis for creating the MVF and how it was applied to the data are explained in Chapter 7.

5.8. Building new theory

Grounded theory is a methodology that aims to create new theory based on the data. This was an iterative process that evolved during the whole Ph.D. period,

but was more intense in the final stages of the research project. There were a number of elements to this theory-building process. The MVF certainly played an important part in helping me to organise emerging factors that shaped the nature of co-production. It also enabled me to abstract the findings from this specific research context and develop ideas about what drives behaviour in museums more generally. Other important elements were revisiting and reflecting on existing theory combined with a series of sense-checking interviews. These helped to confirm the direction of the new theory.

5.8.1. Revisiting existing theory

The role of existing literature in a grounded theory approach is often misunderstood. It is not about 'theoretical avoidance' (Barnes et al., 2006; Goulding, 2002, p.164). I began the research with knowledge of the relevant literature but, as I mentioned earlier, I used it to sensitise me to the issues rather than to define my research. During the research, I returned to the literature to explore ideas as they emerged from the data. It was this process that helped me to develop the MVF. Once I completed the MVF analysis, I returned to the literature in an attempt to make sense of how the values profiles drive behaviour in organisations. I focused on organisational culture (Cameron & Quinn, 1999; Schein, 2004; Seel, 2000) and complexity management (McMillan, 2004; Olmedo, 2010; Stacey & Griffin, 2006). I also revisited work on the wider operational context, for instance our increasingly participatory culture (Leadbeater, 2008; Shirky, 2008, 2010) and the current political context, especially material on co-production being generated by think-tanks (Boyle, Clark and Burns, 2006; Boyle, Coote, Sherwood and Slay, 2010; Boyle and

Harris, 2009; Boyle, Slay and Stephens, 2010; Stephens, Ryan-Collins and Boyle, 2008). Revisiting this literature, which is discussed more fully in Chapter 2, helped me to reflect on my findings as they emerged from the data.

5.8.2. Sense-checking interviews

Another method I used to validate the emerging theory was to discuss it with museum practitioners. As part of the theory-development process, I tested out the emerging theory in a series of individual conversations (Appendices - A 9 and A10). This was a form of 'member checking' (Goulding, 2002) and helped to ensure credibility for the new theory. The primary focus for these interviews was the use and application of the MVF. I wanted to make sure that my ideas about the competing values facing museum managers made sense to the people managing museums.

5.9. Conclusion

Qualitative research is particularly vulnerable to accusations of a lack of rigor. This chapter has tried to minimise any such criticism by setting out the philosophy underpinning the research and giving details on how the data was collected. Grounded theory was selected as the most appropriate approach given my epistemological stance, the nature of the research question and the state of existing research. The use of multiple case studies, a range of sources and the triangulation of the data is an attempt to produce robust evidence and, in doing so, moderate possible criticisms of subjectivity. I entered the field with a significant degree of theoretical sensitivity and an understanding of museum

practice, which enabled me to explore the topic in a meaningful way. Ongoing review and reflection on literature in dialogue with the emerging themes from the data also allowed me to place my growing understanding of the factors shaping the nature of co-production against the framework of existing knowledge. While the use of theoretical sampling means that the cases are not representative of museums the world over, the cases were drawn from a variety of museums in England, Wales and Scotland, and as such, the findings may have relevance for museums in similar contexts. Narrowing the research field to exhibitions with a historical theme allowed for meaningful comparison between cases while at the same time reflecting the breadth of museums. The final sample included 20 case studies drawn from museums of different sizes, governance types and geographical location. There were cases from small volunteer-run museums as well as very large national services. There was also a range of exhibition topics. While most could be described as social history, there were also exhibitions that dealt with archaeology, medieval history, Middle Eastern history, industrial design, art and architecture. A table summarising the 20 full case studies is provided in the appendix (Appendix - A7). Collecting the data was only part of the research process. Making sense of this information was another very important part of the methodology, and the next chapter explains my approach.

This chapter has also set out the analytic tools of grounded theory, i.e. memos, constant comparison, coding etc., and explained how they were used to make sense of the data. In order to answer the research question, some analytic tools were adapted specifically for this research based on existing literature and information that emerged from the investigation. The most significant of these

are a typology of co-production in museums and the Museum Values Framework (MVF), both of which will be explained in greater detail in the chapters that follow. The next chapter sets out the patterns of co-production found in the case studies, looking at the types of activities performed by external parties and the nature of those involved. Subsequent chapters will explore possible explanations for these patterns and what they might mean for museum managers.

6. The Pattern of Co-production

6.1. Introduction

This chapter describes and categorises what the research discovered as a prelude to discussing possible explanations and implications of the patterns. In order to address the research question, i.e. why the nature of co-production varies in different museum settings, the research needed to investigate possible patterns of co-production in the case studies. I did this by addressing the four sub questions outlined in the previous chapter (5.7.1). This chapter responds to those questions first by examining the nature of the co-production in terms of the functions being performed by external parties and proposes a typology of co-production in museums. Second, it explores the nature of the external parties and discusses different ways of analysing who is involved. Third, it examines the depth of co-production. Fourth, it examines the rationale behind external involvement from the point of view of the museums and their personnel.

The research found that, despite the range and complexity of co-production activities, it was possible to identify a basic pattern across the case studies. In terms of the nature of co-production, there was evidence to suggest that external parties were frequently involved in particular parts of the exhibition-making process and absent from others. Beyond this basic pattern there appeared to be at least as many differences between the cases as similarities. This chapter describes the findings, identifying similarities and differences between the cases in the sample.

6.2. *The nature of the external involvement*

This research found external parties involved in a wide range of roles, from, for example, the loan of a single object to substantial contribution or to the overall design of the exhibition. The typology used emerged from the data but was informed by my knowledge of project management and exhibition theory.

Initially I broke the exhibition making process into six functional areas and used these to analyse the pattern of external involvement, (1) initial idea and development, (2) management and administration, (3) design and production, (4) understanding and attracting an audience, (5) curatorial functions and (6) planning the associated programme of events (Davies, 2010). These divisions were informed by the co-production literature, which as we have seen, uses a variety of methods to distinguish between different types of co-production, project management literature and the nature of the exhibition-making process, as discussed in Chapter 3. After further reflection I reduced this to four categories. The typology divides co-production activity into four functional types, (1) co-initiating, (2) co-managing, (3) co-designing and (4) co-delivery. This typology, set out in Figure 7, allowed for a meaningful categorisation, despite the variable and non-linear nature of exhibition production.

The analysis using this typology revealed that, in the cases examined, external parties were frequently involved in the co-delivery of exhibitions, sometimes involved in co-initiating and co-design but rarely with co-management. These patterns are discussed in greater detail below.

Figure 7: A typology of co-production in museums

Type of co-production	Description	Examples
Co-initiating	Generating exhibition ideas and the early development of them.	Suggestions and feedback from visitors. Writing a proposal. Discussing ideas with others. Initial research.
Co-managing	Defining the project, controlling and monitoring the resources.	Approving the exhibition brief, i.e. establishing the scope of the exhibition and defining the main narrative theme. Budgetary control. Commissioning visitor/audience research. Managing personnel. Applying for grants etc. Keeping the project to time.
Co-designing	Deciding what goes on display and how it is presented. Devising the technical aspects of display.	Writing and/or interpreting the brief. Designing the interactive displays. Graphic design. Designing the lighting scheme. Visitor/audience research.
Co-delivery	Executing the plans in order to produce the exhibition.	Lending/borrowing objects for display. Contributing oral history/testimony. Creating new artwork specifically for the exhibition. Researching the topic. Writing text for the labels and boards. Building and installing the exhibition (e.g. painting the walls and arranging the cases).

There were limitations in the application of this typology. For example, in some cases, it was difficult to make precise distinctions between design and delivery. This was largely because these functions were often performed by the same individual(s), particularly in smaller museums. It may also have understated the role design has in some exhibitions. The look and feel of an exhibition can be a driving force in shaping the exhibition. It is not unusual for the visual feel of the

exhibition to coincide with the intellectual rationale; for example, one of the exhibition organisers said, '*The thing about this exhibition was that I could visualise [it] from the beginning ...*' (Freelance Curator, 19. Land Girls, p.4).

Despite these limitations, the typology provided a useful framework and helped to identify patterns in the nature of co-production. A list of the categories of co-production case by case is provided in the appendix (A 11) and the general patterns are discussed below.

6.2.1. Co-initiating

External parties were involved in the early stages of developing the exhibition in 14 of the 20 case studies. In two cases, the exhibition topic had been suggested by members of the public. In six cases, the exhibition concept was developed with contributions from external parties. Discussions sometimes took place between work colleagues at the museum as well as with friends and family outside the museum. For example, the original ideas for at least two exhibitions were first discussed at social occasions (4. Victorians and 17. Crusades). In a number of cases, exhibitions evolved from previous projects. For example, a public event at the museum produced the idea for the exhibition and another project suggested a format to be followed (9. Military Women). Constructive relationships, forged during previous projects, were an important consideration when developing exhibitions, and existing networks, both organisational and personal, appeared to play an important role in the generation of exhibition ideas and in their early development.

6.2.2. Co-management

In these cases, external parties were only rarely involved in any form of management function. None of the cases showed evidence of involving external parties in higher management functions, such as setting exhibition budgets or planning the exhibition programme, and in only a few cases were external parties involved in any project management tasks. Where this did happen, it was notable that there were existing trusting relationships between the museum and the external parties. In Case 4. Victorians, the exhibition organiser (an English lecturer) was a friend and colleague of the curator, and, once the brief had been agreed, she was in charge of the exhibition, while the museum staff played a consultancy role, supporting and advising her and her students in the production of the exhibition. The lack of a professional, internal team in the small museums run predominantly by volunteers (13. Pilots, 14. Farming and 15. Graphic Art) made it more difficult to establish who was an external party, but in most cases there was an established team of insiders, even if they were all unpaid, who performed the management functions.

6.2.3. Co-design

There was some evidence of external parties being involved in the design and planning of the exhibition in a number of cases. For example, where an advisory panel or consultation group had been established (5. War and Migration and 6. Iron Age), there was evidence of significant external involvement in shaping the nature and narrative of the exhibition. For example, museum personnel made changes to the original exhibition brief in response to

comments from external parties. However, even in these cases, staff had the final approval and control over the exhibition narrative and content.

Pitching the material for the target audiences, i.e. designing the exhibits and writing the text in an appropriate way, is an important part of the planning process. In many cases, it appeared to be part of the standard process of planning an exhibition but was done almost unconsciously, with little fanfare and less evidence. However, in a minority of cases, it was a conspicuous part of the process and it was an area where external parties were frequently involved. For example, 5. War and Migration, 6. Iron Age and 7. Iran all conducted formal audience research as part of the exhibition development. In the case that carried out the most extensive audience research (7. Iran), work was done to establish which key terms visitors understood and how much visitors knew about the topic in order to pitch the exhibition at an appropriate level. In Case 5. War and Migration, focus groups and an advisory panel helped to shape the exhibition. In Case 6. Iron Age, an extensive effort was made to develop the exhibition with a consultation group. It is worth noting that all three of these exhibitions were held in larger museums and the exhibitions had relatively large budgets. While some of the staff at the smaller museums used low-cost and informal methods for understanding their audiences, many of the interviewees were uncertain about the visitor profile or who the exhibition was aimed at. In a number of cases (9. Military Women and 12. Design), visitor data was collected and used by other people in the museum, but the person leading the exhibition did not appear to use it to shape the exhibition.

There were marked differences in how the technical and aesthetic aspects of the exhibitions were planned. In the larger museums, design was recognised as a specialist skill and a number of the museums in this sample employed designers. Even when designers were part of the museum's permanent team, additional designers were sometimes employed as freelancers for particular tasks. For example, in Case 7. Iran, the museum made a decision to use external designers because their internal design team was busy with other projects and because the exhibition team wanted a fresh perspective. In some cases (12. Design and 18. Horses), there was an established relationship with an external freelance graphic designer who was employed as and when the museum needed this specialism. These kinds of established and regular relationships appeared to blur the boundaries between the internal team and external parties. The exhibitions with the smallest budgets tended to do without designers altogether, either as part of their staff team or as external consultants, although there were exceptions to this. For instance, the exhibition organiser of 10. Landscape Prints was a designer employed by the museum and there was also unpaid external design input from the local art school.

6.2.4. *Co-delivery*

It was in this functional area where the greatest level of external involvement was seen. Lending objects for display was the most common form of co-delivery. Borrowing items from other institutions and private collectors is a well-established pattern in museum exhibitions. In most cases, this was a pretty straightforward transaction, although in some cases, notably when borrowing from overseas museums, the negotiations were delicate and prolonged. There

were differences between the cases in where items were borrowed from; the smaller museums tended to borrow material from individuals and organisations that were geographically close to their venue, while the larger museums appeared to borrow from other large institutions both in Britain and overseas.

Other common forms of co-delivery in the case studies were oral history and written memories. Unsurprisingly, these were most often seen in exhibitions that focused on telling less well-documented histories. In this case, it was the exhibition topic rather than the nature of the host museum that appeared to encourage this form of co-delivery.

The provision of skills, advice and/or services was another form of co-delivery that occurred in a number of cases. This may reflect a trend towards the use of external freelancers and away from large permanent staff teams. In some this form of input was contributed by unpaid volunteers, for example as members of exhibition advisory groups. External input was also common in understanding the topic, examples ranging from old pupils explaining to the curator the layout of the school and school traditions to university academics sharing their knowledge with the exhibition team. Individuals also contributed material for display in the form of oral and written testimony (1. School, 6. Iron Age and 12. Design). There were differences in how large and small museums installed exhibitions. The larger museums had in-house technical teams who built and installed exhibitions. In contrast, the smaller museums did not employ dedicated technical staff; these tasks were normally done by the existing general team, and in some cases this included volunteers.

There was a noticeable lack of external involvement in the care of objects. This gap is puzzling. Objects frequently need conservation work to prepare them for display. Knowledge of current practice suggests that basic collections care is sometimes performed by volunteers and that many museums no longer have conservators as part of their staff but use freelancers. The gap may be a reflection of the questions asked in the interviews. It may be that conservation was overlooked by the participants and the interviewer did not probe sufficiently.

When it came to promoting the exhibition, there was little evidence of external parties being involved other than external printers producing promotional literature. Some informal, word-of-mouth marketing undoubtedly took place, for example students bringing their friends and family to the exhibition, but it was difficult to gauge the level of this. In a few cases, there was evidence of external parties helping to promote the exhibition; for example, in Case 5. War and Migration, the museum built a relationship with the community leaders, one of whom had links with a niche radio station that was popular with the target audience. Using this channel proved a successful way for the museum to reach the audience it wanted. In some of the smaller museums, volunteers helped with the production and distribution of promotional material. For example, in Case 1. Schools, an art student, who was on a voluntary placement at the museum, painted a banner for the exhibition.

Nearly all of the cases had some level of events, activities and/or publications linked to the exhibition. Some had very busy programmes (7. Iran), while others had only a few linked activities (4. Victorian, 10. Landscape, 11. Hospital and 12. Design). Where associated events took place, there was often a high level

of external involvement in delivery but not in planning. External parties were involved in the delivery of a variety of associated events, including craft demonstrations, dance displays, school reunions, talks by experts, debates and seminars. External parties also contributed to some of the associated publications, for instance writing material for the catalogue.

In these case studies, exhibition making was a very collaborative process with external parties performing a variety of roles. The research found that certain parts of the production process appeared to be more open to external involvement than others. External parties were often involved in the co-delivery of exhibitions, they were sometimes involved in the co-initiation and co-design of exhibitions but they were rarely involved in the co-management of exhibitions. This typology only identifies where in the process external parties were involved. It does not reveal who the external parties were, how deep the involvement was or the reasons for their involvement.

6.3. *The nature of the external parties*

The literature offers a variety of ways to categorise the participants in co-production. This section considers two that are particularly relevant to the research: insiders/outsiders and professional providers/users. It will also examine the role networks played in identifying and recruiting external parties.

6.3.1. *Insiders and outsiders*

Since Ostrom's definition of co-production hinges on who is in and who is out of the organisation (Ostrom, 1996), this research defined external parties as individuals and groups who were outside the museum's permanent team.

Discussions of insiders and outsiders normally rest on notions of belonging to a specified group, for example:

'Insiders are the members of specified groups and collectivities, or occupants of specified social statuses. Outsiders are the non-members' (Merton, 1972 p.21).

This is theoretically consistent, but the case studies suggested a greater degree of nuance and some external parties appeared to be more inside than others.

Figure 8. suggests how this gradation could be made by identifying four categories, with 'insider' as an integral part of the permanent museum team, 'known' as people who have worked together before, 'peripheral' as people with some form of existing relationship and 'outsider' as those who have no prior knowledge of each other. In practice it was difficult to assess how close the external parties were to the museum. The relationships and degrees of closeness were complex and beyond the scope of this research to go into any great detail. Despite this, there was evidence to suggest that those closer to the museum were given roles with more responsibility and which had a greater impact on the exhibition. A possible reason for this might be that those closer to the core share more values. This alignment of values results in shared norms and behaviours which make it easier for the parties to trust each other and work together, i.e. a community of practice (Wenger, 1998).

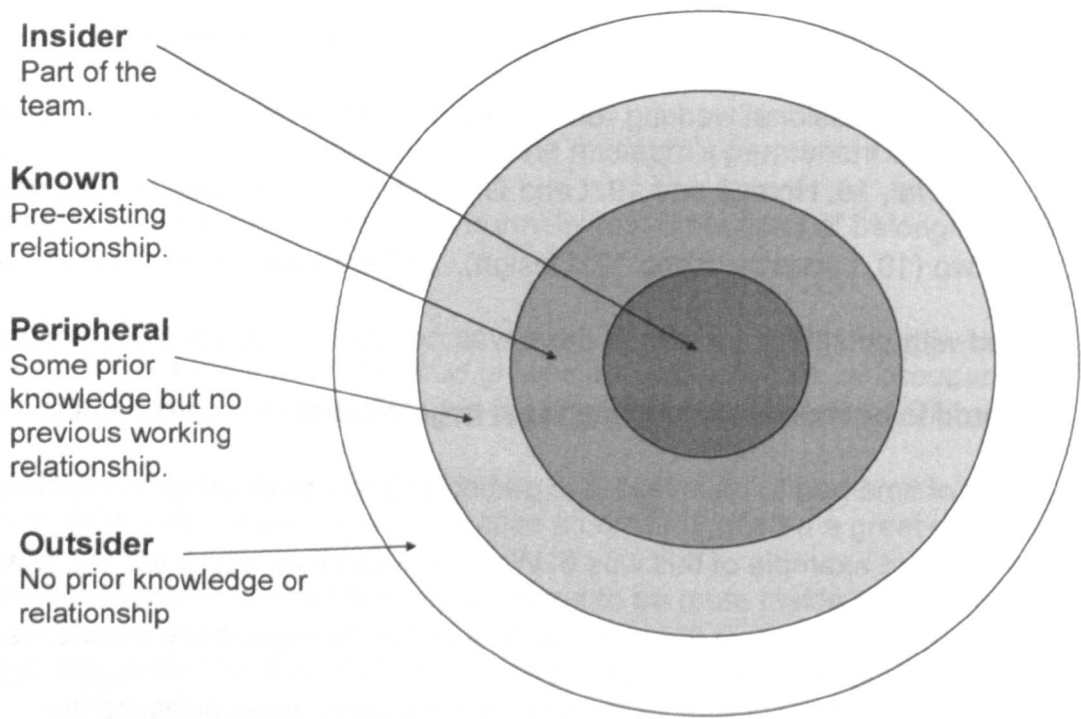
In some cases, the external parties had a long-standing working relationship with either the museum or individuals working for the museum. These relationships took a variety of forms, including personal friendships (4. Victorian), professional working relationships (6. Iron Age, 7. Iran, 16. Music, 17. Medieval, 18. Horses and 19. Land Girls) and in some cases a combination of the two (10. Landscape and 12. Design). In the cases where the museum worked with outsiders, i.e. where there was no previous contact, the projects appeared to be much harder to manage, largely because a considerable amount of time had to be invested in getting to know each other and building trust. A good example of this was 5. War and Migration, which set out to work with groups not known to the museum in an effort to expand the museum's audience. This project was successful, but the interviewee stressed the importance of allowing enough time:

'... it took almost two years actually from when we first started initial work putting the brief together to until we actually opened the exhibition, because we knew it was something that we couldn't rush, and, because we were working with a community that we had never really worked with before, we had to build up trust.' (Exhibition Manager, 5. War and Migration, p.3).

The experience was very different in cases where a relationship already existed between the external party and the museum. For example, in 19. Land Girls the freelance curator had previously worked with the museum and been involved in mentoring members of museum staff. This appeared to give her the status of "insider" from the start of the exhibition project. As the Curator of Exhibitions commented;

'...I think it is probably quite an unusual project because, in that, she was external but it was all very collaborative...Possibly more so than it would be with a curator that we didn't know.' (Curator of Exhibitions, 19. Land Girls, p.10)

Figure 8: Gradients of insiders and outsiders



The status of volunteers was particularly difficult to assess. In volunteer-run museums, some volunteers are insiders while others remain on the periphery of the organisation. In each of the three volunteer-run museums (13. Pilots, 14. Farming and 15. Graphic Art) there was a small minority in charge who organised and administered the work, supported by a larger number of less-involved volunteers. For example, in one of the smaller museums run almost entirely by volunteers the Chairman said;

'...We have about 60 volunteers, you need about 40 in the week just to keep the counter going, and that is a separate job from everything behind the scenes. There are - what is it? -, six of us that are here a lot of the time and we do the jobs behind the scenes.' (Chairman, 13 Pilots, p.10.)

The six insiders devoted a much greater proportion of their time to the museum, often coming in everyday, and were the ones making decisions about the museum. In this case the Chairman emphasised that those who volunteered less frequently were able to “graduate” to other roles but that it was a matter of

combining the volunteers' skills and time with the tasks that needed doing. This pattern chimes with other investigations into volunteer-run organisations (Bishop and Hoggett, 1986, p.99). Similarly, in museums run by paid professional staff, it is possible to identify highly skilled and highly trusted volunteers who acted and were treated as 'insiders'. For example, in 4. Victorians the exhibition was led by a lecturer at the University who was given a considerable amount of freedom to create the exhibition with her students. Her status as a fellow employee of the university probably contributed to her privileged status as an insider as did her friendship with the curator. These pre-existing relationships meant that she was a "known" party and relatively close to the inside of the museum team.

The difficulty of categorising the external parties in some of these cases suggests that the boundaries between the consumers and the producers may already be blurred (Stephens, Ryan-Collins, & Boyle, 2008; Tandler, 1995).

6.3.2. Professional providers versus users

A division between professional providers and those consume the goods or services is one that is made in the literature (Bovaird, 2007). However, in this research, the distinction between these categories was not always clear-cut in the data. In, at least some of the cases, the boundary between producers and consumers was distinctly blurred. This was most evident in small museums with a high level of volunteer involvement. Another problem with this division is the multi-disciplinary nature of exhibition teams, as discussed in Chapter 3. Given the multiple skills involved in producing exhibitions, it is not unusual to have several professional communities of practice represented in the

professional providers (Lee, 2007; Wenger, 1998). In the cases where external freelancers were employed, these could sometimes be classified as insiders and sometimes outsiders, or at least on the periphery. For example, the freelance audio-visual designers employed in 7. Iran may have had more in common with other audio-visual designers than they did with the internal museum team. On the other hand, some professional freelancers could be considered as insiders since they shared many of the values of those employed by the museum, for example the freelance curator employed in 19. Land Girls. Also, some volunteers may be rightly considered as insiders despite their unpaid, unprofessional status. In the museums with a high level of volunteer input, it was difficult to know how to classify some of those involved in the creation of the exhibition.

Despite the difficulties of classifying external parties as 'professionals' or 'users', this division does reveal something about the pattern of external parties. As Figure 9 illustrates, it appears that exhibitions with relatively small budgets held in smaller museums tended to work with users, whereas exhibitions with larger budgets held in larger host museums tended to involve predominantly professional external parties. There are exceptions to this pattern. For instance 2. Crime was a small-budget exhibition in a small museum, but most of the external parties could be classed as professionals of one sort or another.

Figure 9: External parties classified as professional providers or museum users

Nature of external party involved	Cases where this pattern was seen
Mostly professional providers, e.g. personnel from other museums, librarians, university academics, freelance designers, market researchers and other experts.	2. Crime 7. Iran 10. Landscape 11. Hospital 17. Crusades
Relatively equal mixture of professional providers and museum users.	3. Quilts 5. Migration 6. Iron Age 12. Design 15. Graphic Art 18. Horses 19. Land Girls
Mostly museum users, e.g. visitors, potential visitors, students and local residents.	1. School 4. Victorians 8. Buildings 9. Military Women 13. Pilots 14. Farming 16. Music 20. Guides

Clearly different kinds of external parties perform different roles in the production process. In these cases, the closer the external party was to the core of museum insiders the more likely they were to play an impactful role in the production of the exhibition. The differences between the roles of professionals when compared with users were less clear-cut. For example graphic and 3D design were tasks that were frequently allocated to external professionals, but other tasks including research, selecting objects and writing text were performed by both professionals and users.

6.3.3. *The significance of networks*

Informal and formal networks appeared to play a significant role in recruiting external parties in many of the cases. There were many examples of exhibition organisers asking friends, relatives and other acquaintances to find external

parties (4. Victorians, 10. Landscape Prints, 12. Design, 14. Farming, 16. Music, 17. Crusades, 18. Horses and 20. Guides). There was also extensive use of professional networks and connections to identify likely external parties. The character of these professional networks varied and to some extent reflected the personal interests of the members of staff, although in a number of cases it was difficult to separate work and personal enthusiasms. This appears to be a case of communities of practice beyond the organisation and of individuals creating bridges between different communities of practice (Bogenrieder & van Baalen, 2007; Wenger, McDermott, & Snyder, 2002). For example, in 10. Landscape the exhibition organiser, an employee of the museum, was also an artist and a member of the local printmaking group that created the new artwork for the exhibition. The importance of this personal connection was recognised by him and by one of the contributing artists, as the quote below demonstrates:

'He would never have spoken to us if he wasn't a printmaker. It was really just an idea, in his little talk he was giving the printmakers about his holiday and the prints he had made on holiday And I think, if he hadn't been a printmaker, the exhibition wouldn't have been as good, even if it had happened with the printmakers. I don't think the brief would have been as lax. I don't think we would have been allowed to be as creative. I think it would have been something much more regimented, and I think a lot fewer printmakers would have got involved because you are either doing work for college or for something else or a commission. You just have too much else to do, to take on a very, very sophisticated brief like this: This is the concept, now go and make work about this specific thing, whereas, if he tells you, "There is this really fantastic place, go and make work about it and we will put it on the wall for you," then you can't really say no, can you?' (Printmaker, 10. Landscape, pp.14–15)

The implication of networks for the management of co-production in museums is something that warrants more attention and is a subject that we will return to in the final chapter.

6.4. *The depth of co-production*

As discussed in Chapter 4, the literature suggests that some forms of co-production are deeper than others. The literature also suggests the depth of co-production may be considered in a number of ways, such as the impact it has on the goods or services produced, the impact on the participants and/or the inputs of the external parties. Since this research is concerned, primarily, with process of production (rather than the outputs or outcomes), the most appropriate way of assessing the depth of co-production is one that focuses on inputs. The data suggested that the deepest form of co-production occurred when external parties were involved not only in the delivery of the exhibition, e.g. lending objects or designing the lighting, but in other aspects of the production process as well. Deeper forms of co-production were evident in the cases where external parties were involved in more than one aspect of the production process. For example 5. Migration and 6. Iron Age where advisory panels helped to shape the exhibition brief as well as contributing to the delivery of the exhibitions. This coincides with the principles behind Bovaird's matrix (Bovaird, 2007), introduced in Chapter 4, which divides the personnel into professionalised providers and users and the roles they perform.

6.4.1. *Based on inputs*

Using this matrix, eight cases that appear in the centre of the matrix qualify as examples of full co-production because professionals and users were involved in both the planning and delivery of the exhibition. While the simplicity of this matrix is attractive, it is also limited and not just by its focus on inputs. As already discussed, the division between professional providers and users can

be problematic, for instance in museums run by volunteers. Having only two categories implies that all professionals are insiders and all users outsiders, an assumption that was not borne out by this piece of research. Another limitation is that it oversimplifies the production process. The initiation and management functions are not identified in this matrix; presumably, they are included in the planning function. However, in the case studies data, the early stages of developing an exhibition appeared to be particularly powerful in shaping the agenda and controlling resources. For example, 11. Hospital was developed by the museum and local NHS Trust and the level of co-production appeared to be relatively deep and meaningful. The final exhibition was created using material from an external party but the relationship between the Museum and the NHS Trust went beyond borrowing photographs for the exhibition. For example, they worked together to link a children's drawing competition to the exhibition and to create a legacy by inviting visitors to write down their memories of the hospital. It seems this depth of co-production may be due, at least in part, to the early involvement of the NHS Trust as the Collections Officer explained:

'They suggested it even when we just had the initial idea, without even contacting them...they had various events that they had planned and they wanted some kind of exhibition, because they knew that they had a nice archive which the Friends of Xx Xxxx Hospital look after but they just didn't know how to do it.' (Collections Officer, 11. Hospital, p.1.)

The importance of early involvement and the joint development it permits resonates with recent research into this field (Lynch, 2011).

Figure 10: Bovaird's matrix applied to the case studies (Bovaird, 2007)

	Professionals as sole service planners	Service user and/or community as co-planner	No professional input into service planning
Professionals as sole deliverers	7. Iran 17. Crusades		
Professionals and users communities as co-deliverers	1. Schools 2. Crime 3. Quilts 8. Buildings 9. Military Women 16. Music 18. Horses 19. Land Girls	4. Victorians 5. Migration 6. Iron Age 10. Landscape 11. Hospital 12. Design 15. Graphic Art 20. Guides	
Users/community as sole deliverers			13. Pilots 14. Farming

Finally, although this research was concerned with the process rather than the products of co-production, it is very difficult to ignore outputs and outcomes in an assessment of the depth of co-production. Of the eight cases listed in the central box of the matrix, the evidence of external input was more visible in some of the exhibitions than others, suggesting a deeper level of co-production. Based on a subjective appraisal of the exhibitions, three cases in particular demonstrated that the co-production had made an impression on the final exhibition, 4. Victorians, 12. Design and 19. Land Girls.

6.4.2. Depth and trust

The three cases with the greatest range and depth of co-production were united by having particularly strong and established relationships between the museum and the key external parties. The basis of these relationships was a mixture of personal friendships, shared professional ethos and prior experience of working together. The result was a high degree of understanding and trust

between the parties. For example, in 12. Design the museum's Learning and Outreach Support Officer had previously worked with the key collaborator (a college tutor) on photographic and sculpture projects. They clearly enjoyed working together and their respective organisations had seen the previous successful projects, which meant there was a high degree of trust all round. As the Learning and Outreach Support Officer said:

'... this only happened because we'd had those other two exhibitions, or we had worked with them. ... There is no way that the curator here would have said yes to it, because there were too many unknowns. Actually, it was because we had worked with E— on two other projects and E— and I, I say "we", it was E— and I had been working together. In fact, nobody else had anything to do with the other two projects, but E— and I had built up a really good relationship and we, each of us, knew what the other was going to expect....' (Learning and Outreach Support Officer, 12. Design, p.5)

Another example of the high level of trust comes from 10. Land Girls, where the freelance curator was integrated as a core member of the exhibition team. She was known to staff at the museum before taking on the role as freelance curator and was a fellow museum professional with experience of working full time in other museums. The level of trust is exemplified in the apparent informality of the contractual agreement between the freelance curator and the host museum. While there was a letter of agreement, the working relationship was not defined by this. Rather, there was a considerable amount of give and take between the museum staff and the freelance curator, with both sides finding objects, planning the layout and writing text collaboratively. Some of these established partnerships might be described as 'proto-institutions' (Lawrence et al., 2002), in the sense that new ways of working and new modes of behaviour become established in long-term collaborative relationships. The advantage of developing a few long-term partnerships, as opposed to many short term ones, is that the engagement is more likely to be meaningful, but the time needed to

maintain these kinds of relationships may mean that they become exclusive as the museum does not have the capacity to develop similar relationships with new groups.

The importance of a trusting working relationship was highlighted in the cases where it was absent, for example where the museum chose to work with people with whom it had not previously worked (3. Quilts and 5. War and Migration). Even where these projects were ultimately successful, they appeared to be considerably more difficult than those where the external party and museum had an established relationship. The importance of trust as an important factor in successful co-produced projects is well established in the literature (Dhillon, 2005; Munns, 1995; Ostrom, 1996).

6.5. *Rationale for co-production*

Unpicking the reasons why museums involved external parties presented a challenge. The interviewees normally gave more than one reason, and their stated reasons did not always reveal the whole story. The institutional framework, including the host museum's economic model and strategic objectives, were often not mentioned by interviewees, even though, in some cases, there was other evidence that suggested they had a powerful influence. A number of themes emerged from the data and these are discussed below.

6.5.1. *Improving the quality of the exhibition*

The most commonly stated reason for involving external parties was to improve the exhibition in one way or another. Many of the perceived improvements had a practical foundation, e.g. a desire to borrow objects in order to create a good display. In some cases, this improvement was about having a fresh perspective on the narrative or design, for instance by bringing in a guest curator or external designer. Improving the level of information by involving experts of one kind or another was another common reason to involve external parties. This was often about filling gaps in expertise and knowledge, but also about spreading the workload and professionals supporting each other, as this quote shows:

'... we could have done it on our own, but I think the product wouldn't have been the same. It would have been much harder work...'
(Curator of Medieval and Later Archaeology, 17. Crusades, p.16)

6.5.2. *Preferred working method*

For a number of the interviewees, the involvement of external parties was less an active decision and more of a standard way of operating. It was just the way they did things. The custom and practice of how previous exhibitions had been created appeared to inform, even define, how other exhibitions would be produced. For example, the larger, well-funded museums tended to repeat the pattern of employing freelancers to carry out formative evaluation, and the smaller, less well-resourced museums tended to involve volunteers to help mount text. In other cases, the decision to involve external parties was a more conscious decision based on the personal preference of the exhibition organiser. They enjoyed working with others and found collaborative working a

more interesting way of doing things; this was a strong motivation in 4.

Victorians and 12. Design.

6.5.3. Audience development

Another group of reasons for involving external parties concerned audience development, i.e. to increase the numbers of visitors and/or to widen the visitor profile by bringing in new demographic groups, as the quote below illustrates.

'We did want to reach more of the West Indian audience, particularly the local community, in the immediate area in which the museum is in, because, through our research, we found that a lot of people immediately close to the museum didn't actually visit the museum because they thought there would be nothing for them there. ' (Exhibition Manager, 5. War and Migration, pp.1–2)

In some cases, involving external parties in the production of the exhibition was only one technique used to target specific audiences, which was reinforced with other activities.

6.5.4. Obligation and ownership

In the larger museums where external involvement (specifically community involvement) had become a central plank of their operating model, it appeared to be a more conscious decision often based on ideologies about the function of museums and ownership of collections. There appeared to be, in some cases, a sense of obligation, the idea that involving the external party is the 'right thing' to do. This was most obvious when the material on display and the story being told were seen as belonging to a community that was not represented in the museum's exhibition team. This obligation has been discussed in terms of source communities (Heywood, 2009; Peers and Brown, 2003; and Harrison

2005). A few museums in the sample gave the impression that public involvement was at the heart of their operational model and was linked to interviewees' concept of the function of museums; this appeared to be particularly true of 6. Iron Age and 16. Music. Ideas about the obligation to involve the wider community were not limited to these large and professionalised services; although the language used to express it differed in the smaller services, the concept was the same. In talking about why she involved people in donating their photographs and information, the exhibition organiser from one of the volunteer-run museums explained, '*The people are part of their own history.*' (13. Pilots, Volunteer, p.2).

6.5.5. *The zeitgeist*

It would appear that the ideas of contemporary museum thinkers (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007; Meijer-van Mensch & Bartels, 2010; Simon, 2010; Tchen, 1992) are permeating museum practice and are encouraging co-production. How deep these ideological beliefs about obligation, ownership and participation go is debatable, but there certainly appears to be a fashion for the involvement of external parties (in particular non-experts). As already mentioned (2.4.2), there is a trend towards greater levels of participation in society in general, and this rise of the 'participation culture' (Borsche, 2008; Jenkins et al., 2005; McLean & Pollock, 2007; Tapscott & Williams, 2008) has an influence on how museums operate. There was evidence in these cases that the current museum practices encourage the involvement of external parties. A few interviewees were very conscious of the current zeitgeist, as this quote illustrates:

'Well, there are trends in museums and, at the moment, it is very much public ownership and getting the public in because we are opening collections, so that was the idea behind it, so, you know, I am influenced by the trends in museums and museology.' (Curator of Contemporary Life, 16. Music, p.11)

Only a minority of interviewees raised the current trends as a reason for involving external parties, but even those who were apparently unaware of the fashion may, nevertheless, have been influenced by it. There were also signs of cynicism about the trend towards increased public participation. While he supported the idea of more active public involvement, one interviewee doubted the commitment of some museums. Talking about the increased number of community exhibitions, he said:

'I think a lot of it is lip service and because they get funding.' (Learning and Outreach Support Officer, 12. Design, p.27)

There is evidence that some funding regimes reinforce this trend, for instance the Heritage Lottery Fund's emphasis on partnership working and community involvement (Hewison & Holden, 2004).

6.6. Conclusion

The data revealed a wide variety of external involvement in the production of these 20 exhibitions. While there was a basic pattern of co-production across the cases, there were greater levels of variation in the details of the co-production. The basic pattern that emerged across the cases suggested that some parts of the exhibition-making process were more open to external involvement than others. The research found that external parties are frequently involved in co-delivery, sometimes involved in co-initiation and co-design but very rarely in co-management. Even in cases where there was a concerted effort to involve external parties, they appeared to be distanced from

key decision making. In the overwhelming majority of these cases, decisions about exhibition programming (i.e. selecting exhibition topics and allocating resources) were being made by the museum with no evidence of external involvement.

In exploring who was involved, the depth of their involvement and the reasons for their involvement, the patterns became more complex, and consequently more difficult to categorise. Examining the external parties was not straightforward, but in categorising them in terms of their closeness to the internal museum team, it appeared that those closer to the museum insiders were more likely to be involved in a wider range of co-production activities and the apparently higher-order activities, such as co-managing. Trust and shared understanding appeared to be particularly important in shaping the nature of the co-production. The reasons why museums sought to involve external parties appeared to have a bearing on the nature of the co-production. It appeared that there are connections between the aims of an exhibition and the way that it is produced, but that these are complex and frequently messy.

Having identified the basic pattern of external involvement, the next stage was to delve deeper in an attempt to explain the differences and similarities between the case studies. The patterns emerging from the data suggested that a number of factors influenced the nature of co-production. Variables around the exhibition itself appeared to be significant. For example exhibitions with larger budgets tended to involve paid freelancers, and exhibitions that dealt with 'hidden histories' frequently used oral testimony from external parties. However, it also appeared that factors beyond the exhibition had the potential to

shape the pattern of co-production. The way that museum personnel thought about the involvement of external parties appeared to be one of the most powerful factors in shaping the nature of the co-production. At an individual level, factors such as personal opinions, working preferences and friendships had the potential to influence the nature of external involvement; this was highlighted by the degree to which personal networks were used to recruit external parties. At the organisational level, the culture and norms of the host museum appeared to have a strong influence on whether external parties were involved in the production of the exhibitions and, when they were, who was involved and the tasks they performed. There was also evidence that the wider, professional and museum-sector context, in particular trends in museum thinking, influenced the nature of co-production.

As diverse as these influencing factors are they are all underpinned by values, meaning underlying beliefs, norms and assumptions that shape behaviour (Quinn 1988; Schein, 2004). Even the exhibition variables, e.g. the size of the budget and topic, are determined by the values of those allocating funding and deciding what kind of exhibitions ought to be created. Other influencing factors, such as the individuals' opinions, working preferences, organisational norms and professional practices, are more obviously connected to values. In order to understand how values shape the pattern of co-production a systematic framework was needed to analyse the variables. The next chapter explains how the Museums Values Framework was developed and then used to explore why the pattern of external involvement varied in different settings.

7. The Museum Values Framework

7.1. Introduction

The previous chapter, described patterns of co-production found in the case studies. We have seen that the most common form of co-production was co-delivery and that only in a minority of cases were external parties involved in other aspects the production process. We have observed that exhibitions with larger budgets were more likely to employ freelancers. And that co-production with people known and trusted by the museum tended to be deeper.

Reflecting on the patterns of co-production I came to focus on values as a possible explanation. It appeared that there was something over and above the specific variables that influenced the nature of co-production. There were a number of elements in the research data that pointed to values, and how they interact with each other, as a possible explanation for the pattern of co-production. Connections between, for instance the interviewees' replies to the question "What do you think museums are for?" and the nature of co-production was one indicator that values were worth investigating. Other pieces of evidence highlighting values as a possible source of explanation included links between the organisational culture and norms, for instance organisational planning documents, and the nature of co-production.

Having identified values as a plausible explanation for the patterns of co-production this chapter, therefore, focuses on values and how the data was examined. It explains how the Competing Values Framework (Quinn 1984; Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981) was adapted to create the Museum Values Framework (MVF). The final section sets out how it was applied to the data and

used to examine a series of variables. The subsequent analysis forms the basis for an explanation of the range of co-production found in the case studies, and perhaps in museums more generally, which is described in Chapter 8.

7.2. Values, organisational culture and tensions

In this context, organisational culture is understood as a shared set of values, beliefs, attitudes, norms and assumptions that shape the ways in which people behave at work (Armstrong, 2006; O'Reilly & Chatman, 1996; Quinn 1988; Schein, 2004; Stanford, 2010). There is a significant body of literature on organisational culture. A much smaller amount has been written about organisational culture in museums specifically, but this includes some work that explores the significance of organisational culture on collaborative working in terms of bringing together different professional practices (Lee, 2007) and the relationships between museum insiders and those outside the museum (Harrison, 2005). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss the full range of perspectives within organisational theory.

7.2.1. Values appear to be significant influencers

During the initial analysis, it appeared that underlying beliefs, attitudes and norms about a range of factors, including for example the correct function of museums, the best way of producing an exhibition and the most appropriate role for visitors, influenced the nature of co-production. In many cases, the production process replicated previous patterns, i.e. following in the footsteps of previous exhibition organisers. Different museums appeared to have different ways of creating exhibitions. This included, for example standardised ways of

writing labels and, in some of the larger host museums, carrying out formative visitor research. However, the production process was not rigidly standardised and there were plenty of examples of the exhibition team veering away from the normal practice as this quote demonstrates,

'Sometimes the Xxxxx Museum wants to behave like the Xxxxx Museum because that is a brand and that is how you do things but sometimes you want to step out of that and do things slightly differently...' (Interpretation Officer, 7. Iran, p.11)

Individual personal preferences appeared to influence how the exhibition was put together and exhibition organisers were, to varying degrees, able to shape the exhibition making process. For instance, some exhibition organisers expressed a strong preference for working with others, and this could be a strong driver towards co-production, particularly in small museums where the scope for internal collaboration was limited (12. Design and 20. Guides). Also the interviewees' replies to the question, "What do you think museums are for?" gave useful insights into their values and appeared to contribute to the kind of co-production they initiated. It seemed that those who emphasised the collection aspects of a museum's function appeared less likely to demonstrate deep co-production in the exhibition making process. This contrasted with interviewees who emphasised the importance of people in their replies. The replies were not absolute, as the quote below demonstrates. The interviewee was certainly more focused on the collection as the purpose of museums but not to exclusion of visitors.

'Museums are about the collection... It is the nucleus. And I feel that, in some museums maybe, they have gone too far the other way, in engaging, erm, various parts and lost sight of the fact that it is a museum. I am not saying that is a bad thing but, erm, the museum is set up effectively to, erm, share its collection.' (Curator / Acting Director, 18. Horses, p.23)

7.2.2. Group culture emerges from interactions

It seemed that while values might offer an explanation they did not operate in isolation. The values of the individuals involved in the production process appeared to react to what was around them. The evidence from this research supports the idea that group culture emerges through the on-going interaction between ourselves and the people around us (Stacey, 2007 p. 346). This appears to be true at a variety of levels, for example, in temporary project teams, among professional peer groups and in museum-wide organisational culture. It seems that group culture arises from interactions with work colleagues and with wider society, from self-reflection as well as from formal structures, policies and procedures produced by the organisation. As we have seen, when exhibition organisers discussed their reasons for involving external parties, they referred to a combination of influences. These included their own personal opinions, the priorities and norms of their organisation, the opinions of their professional group and the wider social zeitgeist. For instance in response to the question "What do you think museums are for?" interviewees' replies frequently reflected their professional roles, i.e. curators often emphasised the collection while learning officers often emphasised visitors, suggesting that they were influenced by their professional norms (or possibly vice versa). There was evidenced that values worked in combination with each other to create a particular set of values for each exhibition project. This interaction between different values might explain the apparent inconsistencies seen in the case studies. Why, for example, 15. Graphic Art, had a team structure more often found in much large museums and why the pattern of co-production seen in 4.

War and Migration had more in common with that typically seen in small community museums than in other very large museums.

7.2.3. Exhibition organisers negotiate different values and cultures

Something that was not covered in the previous chapter but emerged from the initial analysis relates to how those in charge of the exhibitions managed the process. There was evidence to suggest that, on the whole, exhibition organisers appeared to vary their style and method of management depending on the context in which they were operating.

Again, there appeared to be some general patterns related, for example, to the size of the exhibition project and nature of the host museum, but these were rarely consistent. For example, the general approach of most of the smaller museums appeared to rely on the character and charisma of particular individuals. It tended to be informal and idiosyncratic. In contrast, the management approach in some of the larger museums was much more structured and formal. However, there were plenty of exceptions to these general patterns. The approach of individual managers also varied depending on whom they were dealing with and the task in hand. For example, the curator of exhibitions in 19. Land Girls used very structured formal management methods when identifying the target audience and monitoring the visitor profile, but she adopted a much more relaxed style in managing the freelance curator. The interviewees demonstrated different levels of awareness of their flexible approach. The curator of contemporary life in 16. Music appeared to be very aware that different management approaches were needed in different

situations, at least in retrospect as he reflected back on co-ordinating the work of the different guest curators and how different approaches were needed to get the best out of the relationship. One guest curator needed very clear parameters on how many objects to contribute and firm deadlines, while others needed a more collaborative, supportive relationship. This variety and flexibility concurs with the ideas behind contingency management (Scott, 2007; Woodward, 1965). The central theme of contingency management theory is that context matters and that the most appropriate management approach will depend on the circumstances. It would appear that this also applies to museums and was how the respondents perceived their work.

7.2.4. Tensions

In exploring the issues around co-production in the case studies it became apparent that exhibition organisers faced a variety of choices in developing exhibitions. These options were frequently in opposition and created tensions. The exhibition organisers were weighing up options and making choices throughout the production process. The level of awareness of these tensions varied. In some cases the organisers appeared to be following routine methods rather than consciously making choices but elsewhere the exhibition organisers were plainly, sometimes, painfully, aware of the tensions were clearly visible. For example, where the exhibition was making a concerted effort to appeal to new audiences, as in 5. War and Migration, 6. Iran and 16. Music, the organisers were aware of the risks of alienating existing museum visitors. These tensions went beyond the functional activities of the production process. For example in 16. Music the Curator of Contemporary Life was aware of the

need to balance his personal passion for music with the aims and requirements of the museum that employed him.

My memo diary includes notes on the tensions as well as a number of diagrams showing the range of options in creating an exhibition. I conceptualised these tensions and options as a multi layered and delicately balanced mobile. The fact that mobiles are dynamic was an added attraction since the situations facing the exhibition organisers appeared to change and evolve during the production process and these changes sometimes came from outside the exhibition team or host museum, as if blown by the wind. As part of this analysis and reflection I read and re-read the literature and, following a suggestion from one of my supervisors, I began to explore the Competing Values Framework (Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981). The extracts from my memo diary provide some evidence of this process.

“Following supervision last week I want to do some more analysis of the data using Quinn’s competing values framework. I want to unpick the tensions which the people organising the exhibitions were balancing. These aren’t always either / or. They are normally a question of how much. The tensions can occur in a number of dimensions, e.g. organisational culture, personal preference for working style, the design ethos, the museum’s functional aims. There are tensions which often occur on exhibition projects, e.g.

- *Available resources (e.g. space, staff time and money) vs. Aspiration of the organisers*
- *Desire or need to produce something quickly vs .Desire for perfection*
- *Desire to share objects with visitors today vs .Desire to protect objects for the long term*
- *Tried and tested methods of production vs. New innovative and unknown ways of working*
- *Object rich vs. Space to focus*
- *Noisy and interactive space vs. Quiet contemplative space*
- *Deep and meaningful narrative vs. Accessible*
- *Long term preservation vs. Accessible, well used*

Some tensions are multi-dimensional rather than two opposing alternatives, e.g.

- *Multiple possible narratives*
- *Multiple possible target audiences*

There are always tensions in life and in projects (ref. the project management triangle – cost, time, quality or diamond – cost, time, quality and scope.) The job of the manager is to balance the various options. Working out how to off-set them. Understanding that sometimes they can be combined and sometimes there really is a choice to be made.”

Memo Diary, 14th June 2010

“More apparent dichotomies...

- *Pressure to earn money / commercial vs. Less pressure to earn money / public subsidy*
- *Short term vs. Long term*
- *Aesthetic vs. Historical context*
- *Collections vs. Audience*
- *Facts vs. Emotion”*

Memo Diary, 5th July 2010

The CVF complimented the themes and issues emerging from the data and offer a good starting point for further analysis since it could encompass a wide range of variables while at the same time imposing a degree of order on the multiple factors. However, to be really useful it needed to be adapted to take account of the specific context of this research.

7.3. The competing values framework

Given the variety and complexity of the factors to be explored, the CVF appeared to offer a sound theoretical tool. It was devised by Quinn and Rohrbaugh (Quinn 1988; Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981), who, during their work into organisational effectiveness, found that successful organisations were those that appeared to combine apparently contradictory perspectives and criteria simultaneously (Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981). The CVF considers organisational culture and values to be closely interlinked; indeed, culture is the embodiment of values:

‘When we think of the manifestation of values in organisations, it is their cultures that we are thinking of. Simply put, culture is the set of values and assumptions

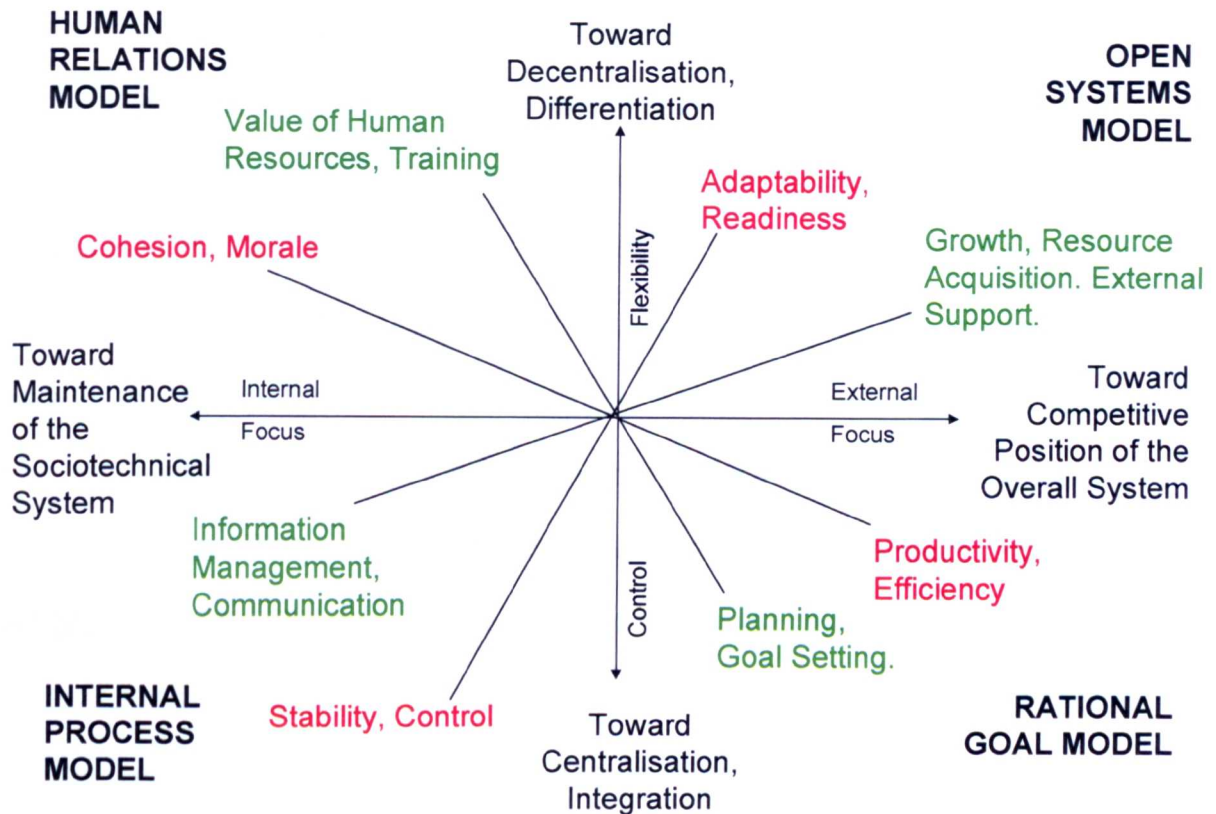
and underlies the statement “This is how we do things around here”.’ (Quinn 1988 p.66).

They combined existing organisational theories to create the CVF (Figure 11), and concluded that the most effective managers succeeded in balancing or reconciling the tensions between the various perspectives, or values. The values profile of an effective organisation is not static; rather the emphasis put on the different values appears to vary and suggests that certain value profiles suit particular types of organisations (Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981) or indeed particular projects. Quinn uses the CVF in a variety of ways including to explore different leadership roles, thinking and behaviour.

7.3.1. The framework

The four quadrants of Figure 11 illustrate four models of organisational type: the human relations, internal process, rational goal and open systems. The human relations model places a lot of emphasis on people and flexibility, which contrasts with the rational goal model, which emphasises planning and targets. Quinn and Rohrbaugh focused on the tensions between these models along three dimensions. The first is between control and flexibility, which is shown along vertical axes. The second is between the internal workings of the organisation and external world, which is represented along the horizontal axes. The third group of tensions appears between means and ends, which are represented by the diagonal axes. In the figure below, the means are highlighted in green, and the ends in red.

Figure 11: Competing Values Framework: Effectiveness (Quinn, 1988)



7.3.2. Why the CVF provided a suitable framework

The CVF offered an appropriate framework for exploring the nature of co-production emerging from these cases for a number of reasons. Crucially it recognises the ambiguity, uncertainty and dilemmas facing managers. It also acknowledges that managers use a combination of approaches and methods depending on the specific circumstances. It allows for a variety of factors to be mapped and, because the CVF combines four different perspectives, it offers the prospect of a reasonably holistic analysis. In addition, it can be applied at various levels, i.e. personal, project and organisational. It also proved to be adaptable.

7.3.3. Why it needed to be adapted

The CVF was designed to be generic in order to explore effectiveness in different types of organisations. Over the years, it has been used to explore how managers balance apparently contradictory demands in different contexts (Buenger, Daft, Conlon, & Austin, 1996; Denison & Spreitzer, 1991; Hooijberg & Petrock, 2006; Howard, 1998; Lamond, 2003). However, the aim of this research was narrower. It sought to make comparisons between different types of museum exhibitions rather than between different types of organisations, therefore it was desirable to adapt the framework to the specific museum environment. This also meant that the analysis was shaped by the data and the emerging themes rather than the data being forced into a pre-conceived framework.

7.4. Adapting the Competing Values Framework for Museums

This section explains how the CVF was adapted to create the MVF. The bases for the adaptations were three factors featuring strongly in the data (as shown below) that contribute to the dilemmas facing museums and how museums behave in response to them, i.e. concepts of knowledge and understanding, the audience/stakeholders and the functions of museums. These issues were introduced as part of the review of museum studies literature in Chapter 2 and emerged as important aspects during the data gathering phase of the research. Each of them appears to act at various levels, i.e. the individual's own beliefs, the team ethos and the organisational culture.

7.4.1. Concepts of knowledge and understanding

The vertical axis of the MVF indicates differences in the concept of knowledge and interpretive strategies. Differences in how knowledge is perceived help to explain many of the interpretive tensions explored in 3.3, for example an objective or subjective approach to writing exhibition text and/or an emphasis on the historical context above the aesthetics of the display. At one extreme, meanings are fixed and the museum's role is simply to present agreed facts. This is represented at the lower end of the vertical axis. Exhibitions that take this interpretive approach are likely to stick to a single agreed narrative based on information from formal sources, such as books. At the other extreme, meaning is fluid and dependent on context. This is represented at the top of the vertical axis. Exhibitions created by people who adopt this approach are likely to include multiple narratives and may present different interpretations as equally valid. For example in 6. Iron Age there was a very conscious decision to include different points of view and let them speak for themselves, as this quote shows:

'...we wanted the different voices, which are sometimes portrayed as polarised voices around human remains, we wanted to, somehow, bring them together' (Deputy Director, 6. Iron Age, p.2.)

The exhibition team is likely to use information from informal sources, such as oral histories and memories, in addition to more formal sources. In some cases specific and personal sources, such as the experience of a former miner, will be valued more highly than general information from a textbook, for example.

Figure 12: The vertical axis – concepts of knowledge and understanding

Concepts of Knowledge and Understanding

Truth is dependent on context.
Meanings are constantly being (re)discovered.
Open to multiple interpretations.



Truth is absolute rather than dependent on context.
Meanings are fixed and certain.
Controlled narratives.

Concepts of knowledge and understanding emerged as a central theme from analysis and reflection on the data. A number of examples are discussed below to illustrate this process. The first quote comes from the Curator of Exhibitions, 19. Land Girls, when she was asked whether she could have imagined doing the exhibition without involving the ex-land girls. The second, taken from my memo diary, demonstrates how I am abstracting the data and relating it back to existing literature.

'No, because it is about them, I mean, it is hard for me, and Xxx [the freelance curator] to put together an exhibition to do with something that we have not personally experienced. It is about a group of women and their experiences and their memories. So it is hard for us to talk about how the uniform felt and everything because we've never had to work in it. Their experiences and memories are central to putting the exhibition together.' (Curator of Exhibitions, 19. Land Girls, p.21.)

'20 Nov 09

Legitimacy of telling the story – Land Girls, CoE p.21. Cross reference this to Margaret MacMillan (2009) comments about the controversy over the Canadian Museum Plaque and whether the pilot had more of a right than historians to have the last word p.44. She says it is a deeply held belief but a wrong headed one.' Memo Diary

The desire to allow individual voices to be represented in the exhibition, as expressed by the Curator of Exhibitions above, is not simply about the topic being within living memory but it is also about recognition of different historical perspectives. It is notable that attitudes expressed in relation to an exhibition about archaeology, 6. Iron Age, were vehement about the importance of recognising the validity of different perspectives on knowledge and understanding. In at least one case the exhibition organiser was committed to including multiple voices but was aware of the need to balance this with a clear narrative (Curator of Contemporary Life, 16. Music).

This desire to include multiple voices contrasted with the attitudes of interviewees in other case studies who appeared to cast themselves in the role of controller defining the narrative rather than facilitators allowing the voices of others to be heard. The Curator of 7. Iran provided a good example of this attitude. Her description of the process of creating the exhibition, and in particular the role of the wide range of external parties involved, demonstrated her preference towards the bottom of the spectrum, illustrated in Figure 12. For example, when she was asked about the role of friends groups and volunteers in preparing the exhibition she replied:

'I had volunteers certainly but they were just people doing things that I needed to have done.' (Curator, 7. Iran, Curator, p.13.)

She went on to explain that Iranian students had played a useful role in translating Persian and organising a symposium but were not involved in other activities. In addition the Curator worked with a number of external academics from prestigious universities but their role was also relatively constrained.

Talking about the contribution from a professor of Arabic Studies she said;

'...he is an academic and historian of religion so he really didn't have anything at all to do with the choice of objects for the exhibition. He was much more someone to talk to about, about the religious history of the period and also to ask to write a section, a chapter in the catalogue.' (Curator, 7. Iran, Curator, p.4.)

These quotes indicate the Curator's attitude to her role in controlling the narrative of the exhibition and, while it is unlikely that she thought absolute historical truth was possible, the text in the exhibition presented an authoritative approximation.

The data suggests that, using the spectrum illustrated in Figure 12, a number of case studies would be positioned towards the top, e.g. 1. Schools, 5. War and Migration, 6. Iron Age, 9. Military Women, 13. Pilots and 19. Land Girls while others would be positioned closer to the bottom, e.g. 2. Crime, 7. Iran, 14. Farming, 17. Crusades.

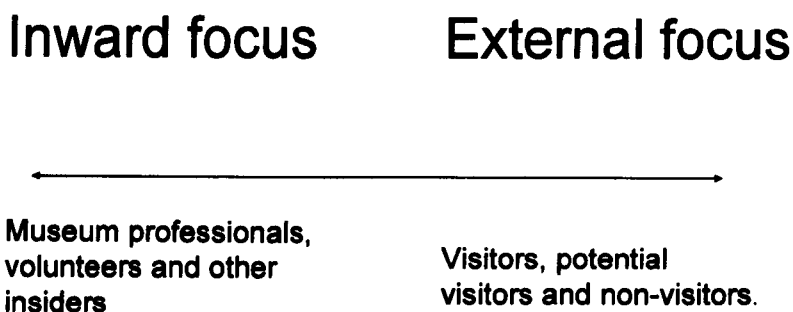
7.4.2. Audience/stakeholders

The horizontal axis shows the relative emphasis placed on the internal / museum stakeholders versus the external stakeholders. This variable, illustrated in Figure 13, is about whom the museum serves and where the museum seeks validation. This is not simply about which audience the exhibition was aimed at, e.g. families, children etc. While the target audience defines some of the focus this axis is also about where the museum, and those

working in it, looks for approval. As discussed in Chapter 6, establishing a clear boundary between insiders and outsiders is not always easy but this axis attempts to do just that. On the left-hand side of the spectrum, the museum looks to insiders, such as fellow museum professionals, enthusiasts and other experts. On the right-hand side, the focus is on an external audience, primarily visitors and potential visitors, but may also include particular groups of non-visitors, such as local residents and students. The data suggested that there were considerable tensions along this axis. Within a single exhibition project there were times when the focus was on an internal group of stakeholders and times when decisions were being made with the external audience in mind. Members of the exhibition team often seemed to struggle to reconcile their apparently competing demands.

Figure 13: The horizontal axis – audience/stakeholders

Audiences / Stakeholders



The focus of the exhibition organisers was not something that they were always able to articulate. It was something that was hinted at when they talked about the exhibition, the museum and their work. For example in the quote below the speaker is placing the exhibition in a particular genre of exhibition making and in

doing so he indicates that he is not concerned with the highly professionalised museum practice seen in some other museums.

'...what we do is basic. Putting exhibitions, putting up pictures, costs almost nothing. This is what our special exhibition is about.' (Chairman, 13. Pilots, p.13.)

During the interview the Chairman gave other hints of a dismissive attitude towards museum (and other) professionals. In explaining recent events related to the redevelopment of the museum and the redundancy of a full time curator he said:

'We had a designer who wasn't doing what we wanted him to do, so we got rid of him. We had an architect who was utterly useless...and we ended up doing the work ourselves. And then the curator, erm. The truth is that the volunteers we have got here could do a better job that the curator could.' (Chairman, 13. Pilots, p. 17.)

It seemed that the Chairman's focus was largely on internal stakeholders, his fellow volunteers. This does not mean that the Chairman did not care about visitors. Indeed he was very proud of the high visitor numbers the museum was attracting but these figures appeared to vindicate the success of what the museum, and its team of volunteers, was doing rather than being the point of the museum or its exhibitions.

Other cases appeared to have a greater mixture of foci. In 7. Iran there was a strong desire to serve external audiences. The exhibition team had identified target audiences, including the Iranian and Islamic communities, and thought very carefully about the visitor experience but the focus was not entirely on the visitors. It was understood by the exhibition team that the exhibition was likely to attract fewer visitors than other recent "blockbuster" exhibitions but high visitor numbers or visitor satisfaction was not necessarily the measure for this

exhibition. This exhibition had aspects of cultural diplomacy. Arguably, the prime focus for 7. Iran was an external audience, the political elite in Britain and abroad. This was not something the interviewees expressed directly but given the exhibition topic and the political sensitivities between Britain and Iran there was sufficient evidence to suggest that the need for cultural diplomacy had influenced the choice of topic and the way the exhibition was put together. The exhibition had been in development for years and during that time there had been a series of visits to Iran by the museum director, the curator and others, to negotiate with the relevant authorities. Even when the negotiations failed to result in objects being lent for the exhibition the curator felt that the effort of talking had been worthwhile.

' I spent a lot of time going to Mashhad and Gol talking to people there trying to pursue them, slowly, slowly, trying to get them to lend to this exhibition. And that took years and they didn't in the end. But that was a good thing to talk to them for all those years.' (Curator, 7. Iran, p.15.)

This case was unusual in terms of topic and profile but a similar mixture of stated objectives and unspoken assumptions about what the exhibition was really about existed in a number of other cases.

One case, 6. Iron Age, appeared to have successfully reconciled the tensions between serving the internal and external stakeholders. The host museum was committed to community involvement and, at the same time, wanted to establish a role in for itself a catalyst for this way of working in museums more widely. The exhibition was,

'...an excellent opportunity to really showcase some of the things that we have been doing, that are perhaps, behind the scenes. So right from the beginning we knew that we wanted to make this, erm, very much a consultative approach.' (Deputy Director, 6. Iron Age, p.2.)

By embedding consultation and participation into their exhibition making practice they could serve both an internal audience (of museum professionals and funders) and an external audience (of local residents, visitors etc.). It was one of the few cases where this win / win situation existed. In many other cases it appeared to be an on-going struggle to balance the demands of various external and internal stakeholders.

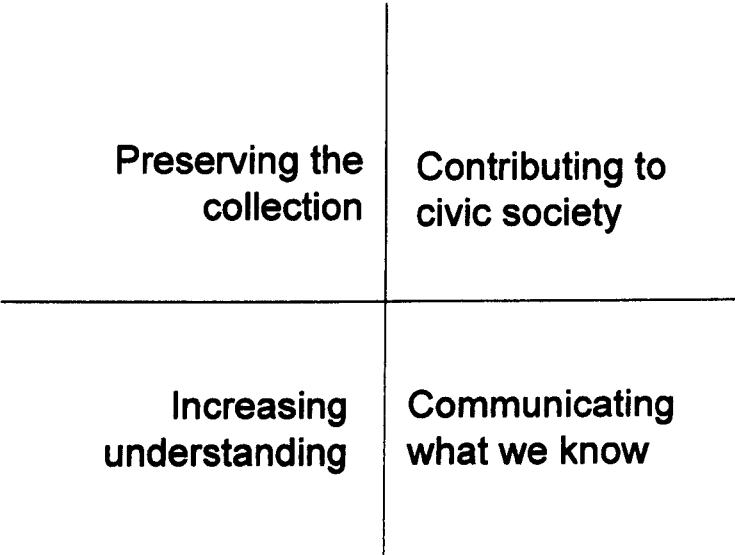
Condensing range of stakeholders into a single spectrum may be an oversimplification but this axis does help to identify and record the focus for decision making during the exhibition making process.

7.4.3. Functions of museums

The third factor that has been used to adapt the CVF for a museum context concerns the core functions of museums. As mentioned earlier in this chapter the opinions of the exhibition organisers about the functions of museums appeared to influence which external parties they worked with and the tasks they allocated to them. It was not simply that collection focused curators worked with curators and other subject specialists while those who thought that the prime purpose of museums was to engage with people worked with the local community. The data suggested that individuals' ideas about the functions of museums was considerably more nuanced than this. Both individual members of the exhibition teams and the museum as an organisation recognised multiple functions as important. In order to find a way of analysing this I returned to the literature discussed in Chapter 2, and found four recurrent themes. First, preserving the material culture or objects, i.e. rescuing, collecting

and conserving the collection; second, understanding the material, i.e. studying and researching; third, communicating, i.e. the presentation and interpretation of the collection, whether in exhibitions, publications or events; and fourth, contributing to civic society, i.e. developing a sense of belonging in individuals, contributing to community cohesion and helping to create national identity. All four functions (shown in Figure 14) appeared in the case studies, but the relative priority given to each of the functions varied depending, it seemed, on the culture of the host museum museum, the project and the individuals' opinions. In the adapted version of the CVF (Figure 15), each quadrant is dominated by one of these four functions – preservation dominates the upper left, understanding the bottom left, communication the bottom right and contributions to civic society the upper right. By identifying these four core functions it became possible to explore the relative importance given to each in the case studies.

Figure 14: The four core functions of museums



The data used to make this adaptation of the CVF came mainly from the interviewees' responses to the question "What do you think museums are for?" supported with other information, such as the host museums' organisational documents and / or exhibition briefs. These sources sometimes indicated a mixture of perspectives but together they helped to build up a picture of the prevailing priorities and operational context for each case.

Most interviewees recognised that museums had more than one purpose and many gave similar replies to this one;

'...the broadest sense, they are to educate people but then to stimulate thoughts and ideas. And give people a starting point, to show them, essentially to show them objects and ideas that maybe they haven't thought about before. To promote thought. It is kind of a learning environment, I think. I think they are there to build up relationships that you might not come across day-to-day and give opportunities in that respect. And to collect objects and to keep objects for the future.' (Exhibition Manager, 4. War and Migration, p.20.)

Some interviewees stressed particular aspects for example, learning:

'...museums are for education...But, I think fun should be a major aspect of it as well.' So a good museum would be a combination of education and fun.'
(Curator of Contemporary Life, 16. Music, pp.15-16.)

His colleague agreed and said that he often described the museum as *'...a theatre of facts.'* (Assistant Exhibitions Officer, 16. Music, p.14.)

Others stressed to role of museum as a forum, i.e. a place to meet and to exchange ideas. A number linked this to the social aspect of museums, for example:

'...I see it very much as a community place... We have lots of regulars who come into the museum just for a cup of tea or just to use the internet. The girls know them on the desk and everyone knows them.'
(Curator, 1. Schools, p. 13)

While others framed the forum role more in terms of helping people define their identity, as this quote demonstrates:

'... to develop conversation around... Things that can be emotive and non-measurable, erm, a museum object bringing out aspects of meaning and identity, and, to me that is one of the most important roles of museums.' (Deputy Director, 6. Iron Age, p.17.)

Only one person talked about museums' role to provide opportunities to: *'...see very beautiful objects..'* (Project Manager, 7. Iran, p.14.) However another interviewee referred to the capacity of museums to inspire awe and wonder.

She said:

'They are to give you an experience that you can't get elsewhere... something that should be memorable and should move you, emotionally, or make you think about things that you don't ... I mean, it is educational but also entirely, and they should be joyful as well... I always feel that they are like a portal into another world. You pause and reflect and yeah, it resonates with your life in some way.' (Freelance Curator, 19. Land Girls, p.14)

As well as having slightly different views about the proper functions of museum in general, most interviewees, believed that different types of museums had different priorities, as expressed in the quote below:

'I firmly believe that different museums have very different remits... They have different governance arrangements, they have different funding strands and that funding is there to deliver different things.' (Deputy Director, 6. Iron Age, p.9)

Another interviewee suggested that different priorities meant that the exhibitions and displays were visibly different. Using the British Museum as an example of a large national museum someone working in a small community museum said:

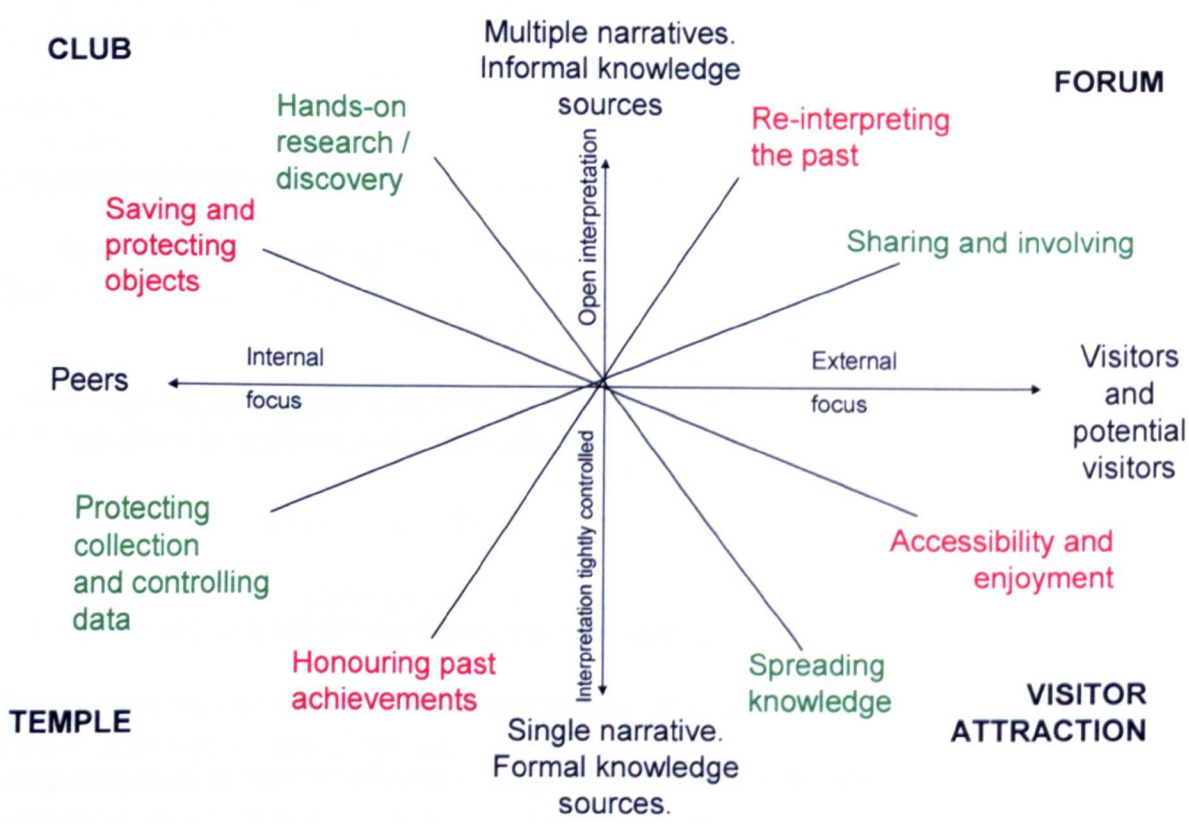
'... the language and display that they use is very, sort of, academic...an academic research basis rather than, a sort of more, general public focus....' (Managing Curator, 15. Graphic Art, p.20.)

In other words the interviewee believed that larger museums were more likely to stress the academic or research aspects of museum work and that this could be seen in their displays. Building on this idea it seemed possible that the relative

importance placed on the four core functions, by the museum and the individuals involved, could influence the nature of co-production seen in the case studies.

Using these three elements in combination I produced an adapted version of the CVF, which I have termed the Museum Values Framework (MVF), and it is shown in figure 15.

Figure 15: The Museum Values Framework



The names given to each quadrant mirror, but do not match, those used by Quinn and Rohrbaugh (Quinn 1988; Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981). The Club, in the top left-hand corner, shares many characteristics of the human relations model with its emphasis on the people working in the museum. In the bottom left-hand corner, the Temple is similar to the internal processes model in its

preference for stability and control. On the lower right-hand side is the Visitor Attraction, which is akin to the rational goal model as it emphasises productivity and efficiency. The Forum, in the top right-hand corner, has more in common with the experimental nature of the open systems model.

7.5. *The four modes*

It may appear that the descriptions that follow are distinct from the data but they are a product of it. They are presented to help explain how the MVF works. There is also a risk that these descriptions suggest that there are only four types of museum and all museums must be categorised into one of these four types (club, temple, visitor attraction or forum), whereas it should be understood as a framework to explore the nuanced mixture of organisational values. All museums combine aspects of each quadrant in a fluid and dynamic way. Given this, it may be more useful to talk of the quadrants as 'modes' rather than Quinn and Rohrbaugh's 'models'. The characteristics of each mode, positive and negative, are described below.

7.5.1. *The club mode*

The club mode is primarily concerned with members of the club, and their priority is to secure and preserve the objects in the collection; other functions come second. Operating in this mode, visitors to the museum are seen as potential converts to the cause, people who might become sufficiently enthused to help the museum by, for example, offering donations or volunteering their time. The values of the club have their roots in the self-help philosophies that founded other communal projects, from the early building societies to modern

sports clubs. The club mode is about like-minded people coming together to achieve something that they cannot do individually. Many museums were created by formally constituted clubs, e.g. the collections of philosophical and scientific societies of the 18th and 19th centuries, but the club mode is about how the organisation behaves rather than the governance of the organisation. A museum does not have to have a membership scheme to behave in the club mode. The club mode is similar to Wenger's idea of 'communities of practice' (Wenger, 1998) in that it is a joint enterprise created by mutual engagement and that membership is based on participation rather than official status (Veenswijk & Chisalita, 2007; Wenger, 1998). However, while 'communities of practice' can be applied to a variety of groups and ways of operating, I am using the club mode to describe a particular type of mode of museum behaviour. It is one in which informal expertise, i.e. expertise derived from practical and direct experience of the topic, is prized above academic knowledge, for example the engineering skills of ex-miners over a theoretical understanding of geology. The creation of knowledge in the club can be idiosyncratic, and in this it shares some of the pre-Enlightenment thinking and multivalence of the early cabinets of curiosity (Stafford, 1996; Yanni, 2005, p.23). At its best, the club can act as a virtuous circle, with the visitors' and members' needs being well provided for by like-minded individuals. At the other extreme, the inward-looking behaviour can become negative and self-serving. It can become a club that is difficult to join and does not welcome the uninitiated. It can also run into financial difficulties if the club members are unable to cover the costs from their own resources.

7.5.2. *The temple mode*

The temple mode shares some of the inward-looking aspects of the club, but the peer group differs. The temple seeks the approval of acknowledged experts, such as other museum professionals, academic experts and cultural commentators. Visitors to the temple play the role of guest; they are welcome to admire and venerate the objects, but are otherwise not expected to get too involved. In the temple mode, professional experts will research the collection and then tell the visitors what it means. They are priests with access to the oracle of knowledge. The values of the temple museum rest on traditions of connoisseurship and of scholarship, following in the footsteps of the medieval monastic schools, early universities and the learned societies that emerged during the Enlightenment. Assuming that the collection is being well cared for, the top priority in the temple mode is to study the collection. There is a desire to share this knowledge, but dissemination may be limited to a relatively small group since validation comes from other professional experts rather than popularity or high visitor numbers. This behaviour is similar to the wealthy gentlemen who showed their cabinets of curiosities to their friends and families but not those beyond their circle (Potter, 2006, p.238). As well as knowledge, the temple puts a high value on beauty. Both the beauty of the object and good exhibition design are admired. At its best, the temple can expand our collective knowledge and create beautiful and inspirational public spaces. The negative aspects of the temple mode can be a detachment from the bulk of society by focusing on a very narrow audience; at its extreme, temple behaviour can result in an elitist museum. This exclusivity is a double-edged sword; it can be used to elicit financial support from, for example, very wealthy patrons and

corporations, but it can also make it difficult for the museum to demonstrate public benefit and therefore justify public funding.

7.5.3. The visitor attraction mode

The attitude towards visitors in this mode is markedly different from the temple mode. In the visitor attraction, visitors' needs, rather than knowledge and beauty, are venerated. They are seen as clients whose needs must be carefully researched and satisfied. This mode is dominated by the communication function of museums. The need to communicate effectively with the visitor drives most of the behaviour, frequently because the business model relies on income generated by visitors from ticket sales, retail and catering. The visitor attraction is most concerned with satisfying the visitors, and other users, in order to generate income. This often results in the provision of high-quality catering and toilet facilities. The visitor attraction's antecedents include privately run museums that showed curiosities to entertain visitors rather than educate or otherwise improve them, e.g. Bullock's Museum which operated in London during the early 19th century and where, for a shilling, visitors could marvel at displays that included Maori necklaces made from human bone, Egyptian mummies and stuffed animals (Yanni, 2005, pp.25-28). In this mode, the museum is driven by market forces and values productivity and efficiency. It shares many of the values of commercial businesses and profit-making attractions, such as theme parks and fairs, but is distinguished from them by two key differences: the financial surplus is used to support the museum's other functions rather than distributed as profit, and the existence of a permanent collection. The values that drive the visitor attraction can result in thriving,

customer-focused museums. The negative side of the visitor attraction is the potential to cater for the lowest common denominator, which can result in criticisms of 'dumbing down' or 'Disneyfing' the museum (Adams, 2010; Bayley, 2010; Howie & Sawer, 2010; Krauss, 1990).

7.5.4. The forum mode

The forum mode is driven by ideological rather than market forces. Visitors are regarded as co-owners of the collection and are encouraged to get involved in creating meaning from the collections. The priority of the forum is to benefit society and individual wellbeing, which it seeks to achieve by encouraging debate and helping visitors to understand their place in the world. The social role of the forum is about creating a sense of belonging and identity based on historical memory, which can be on a global, national, regional or individual scale. In the forum mode, a museum is actively contributing to civic society by becoming a theatre of memory.

'Accommodating and responding to memory is a central, but rarely articulated, responsibility of contemporary cultural institutions' (McGregor, 2003, p.9).

The desired outputs of the forum tend to be qualitative, e.g. increased social cohesion or improved self-confidence among ex-offenders. The values of the forum are ideological and have their roots in 19th-century ideas of rational recreation, i.e. that art, culture and parks could elevate and improve the general population (Cole, 1884). More recently, they have been revived and adapted for the 21st century and linked with the concept of social justice (O'Neill, 2006) and social inclusion (West & Smith, 2005). Museums behaving in this mode have been criticised for turning the museum into a social experiment for political

ends, as a tool of social control (Bennett, 1995) and/or as a source of imperial authority (Yanni, 2005).

The usefulness of these four organisational modes is in understanding how they explain the behaviour seen in the case studies, including the nature of co-production. The values profile may also be used to plan and support how museums work more widely. This possible application of the MVF is discussed in more detail in the final chapter.

7.6. *Using the MVF*

As part of the cross-case analysis, a range of variables were explored with the aim of identifying which appeared to have the most influence on the nature of co-production.

7.6.1. *Identifying the variables*

A range of variables emerged from the data as potentially significant and the initial analysis suggested that opinions and norms were particularly influential. Combining the emerging themes with issues highlighted in the exhibition literature (Ames, 1992; Gordon, 2010; Lord & Lord, 2001) and elements of the original CVF (Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981) a number of variables were selected for further investigation. These included:

- The aim(s) of the exhibition
- The design ethos
- Perceptions of the visitors' role
- The motivation for involving external parties
- The team's working style
- The nature of the external parties
- Source of the narrative

- Individuals' perceptions about the functions of museums
- Individuals' preferred working style
- The economic model of the host museum
- The governance of the host museum
- The geographical location of the host museum

After using the MVF to analyse data from the 20 case studies, this list was reduced to nine variables. The governance and geographical location of the host museum had no perceptible impact on the nature of co-production, so these were abandoned. In addition, given the data, it was difficult to distinguish between the individual working preferences and the team working style, so a decision was made to drop the individual preference and keep the team working variable.

7.6.2. Examining in greater depth

The analysis was carried out by using the MVF to examine each of the variables. This produced a series of diagrams, and the complete set for the 20 cases is included in the Appendix (A14). The headings varied according to which variable was being explored, but the basic attributes of the club, temple, visitor attraction and forum modes were maintained throughout. The concentric circles allowed the depth or strength of the value to be recorded. Where a factor appeared to be very significant in the case, it was marked on the outer edge of the concentric circle, and where a factor was not present, it was marked on the innermost circle. This analytic approach involved a degree of subjective judgment on behalf of the researcher; for instance, not all of the interviewees' responses were taken at face value. Rather what they said was considered alongside evidence from other sources, such as the resulting exhibition, publicity material and museum planning documents. The resulting diagrams

provided a visual pattern indicating the values profile for each variable. Initially this was done variable by variable, and then the nine maps were compiled for each case allowing the patterns to be examined. In creating these analytic maps, the CVF's distinction between means and ends (Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981) was not strictly maintained, because I wanted to avoid making too many assumptions about what methods achieved particular aims. The MVF maps were used to structure reflection on emerging themes from the case study data and help identify patterns (Appendix - A14).

7.6.3. Limitations

This analysis was limited by aspects of the MVF and by the nature of the data collected. In developing the MVF, three tensions in the museum environment were selected: the concept of knowledge and understanding, the audience/stakeholders and the functions of museums; the MVF inevitably overlooks other aspects. Possibly the most frustrating limitation is that it lacks a dimension to explore the economics of the museum environment. As we have seen earlier, museums, along with other not-for-profit organisations, have to negotiate the competing values of the commercial pressure to generate income and the public-service ethos. The analysis was also limited by the data available. This is largely a result of the research approach, which although eminently suitable given the lack of research into this topic, did not gather all the data that might ideally have been collected. For instance, the focus on the production process meant there was a lack of data on the outputs, outcomes or success of the exhibition. The size of the sample also limits the reliability of this

analysis and, in some cases, it may be rather one-sided, reflecting the attitudes of individuals rather than of the team or the wider organisational culture.

7.7. Conclusion

Adapting an existing framework, i.e. the Competing Values Framework (Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981), combined the robustness of a well-tested analytic tool with the ability to examine the specific tensions facing museum managers. The MVF is similar in many respects to the original CVF, but changes have been made to give the framework greater explanatory power in the specific research context. While it has limitations, the MVF provided a coherent analytic framework through which to organise the insights emerging from the data. It was used to address the question of why the pattern of co-production varied in different museum settings and how values influenced these patterns. It enabled the next stage of analysis to explore the idea that values (of individuals and their organisational context) influenced the nature of co-production seen in these cases. In addition to providing a means of analysing the case studies, the MVF makes a contribution to museum studies theory by providing a new tool to extend our understanding of organisational culture in museums, an area where there is scope for further research. The next chapter explores what emerged from the application of the MVF.

8. Values and the Pattern of Co-production

8.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the relationship between values and co-production. In doing so, it offers a possible explanation for the pattern and variety of co-production found during the research. The explanation is based on an exploration of individual values, the context in which they operated and the group values, which emerged from the interconnections between them. This group culture appears to have a strong influence on the nature of co-production in each exhibition.

Using the typologies and frameworks set out in previous chapters, it was possible to examine how the pattern of co-production varied in the 20 cases. The typology of co-production found in museum exhibitions described in Chapter 6 was used in combination with the Museums Values Framework (MVF) described in the previous chapter. Looking at a series of variables, the MVF was used to classify the values profile in each case. The choice of variables was based on the initial analysis, described in Chapter 6, and with reference to the existing literature. Details of this analysis can be found in the Appendices (A14 and A15). Combining the typology of co-production in museums with the MVF enabled an investigation of possible connections between the values profile and nature of co-production.

8.2. Value profiles and pattern of co-production

Only half of the cases demonstrated a single dominant mode, i.e. club, temple, visitor attraction or forum, and, among these, there was variation in the strength of dominance. Most cases showed evidence of operating, at least to some

extent, in a variety of modes. An exception to this was 14. Farming, where a very clear preference for operating in the club mode could be identified. In the remaining 10 cases, behaviour and attitudes reflected a combination of two or more modes. These are labelled 'mixed' in Figure 16. The mixed group may reflect the reality of museum management, specifically the individual's ability to work across the different value profiles.

Figure 16: Summary of the cases' values profile

Cases	Dominant values profile/MVF mode
8. Buildings 13. Pilots 14. Farming 15. Graphic Art 18. Horses	Club
6. Iron Age 20. Guides	Forum
19. Land Girls	Visitor Attraction
7. Iran 17. Crusades	Temple
1. School 2. Crime 3. Quilts 4. Victorian 5. War and Migration 9. Military Women 10. Landscape 11. Hospital 12. Design 16. Music	Mixed

This section sets out how the MVF modes can begin to explain the patterns of co-production in different museum settings. It addresses the four sub questions (originally set out in 5.7.1) by focusing on how external parties were involved, the nature of the external parties, the depth of the co-production and the rationale for involving external parties. Throughout, attention is paid to the interplay between the values of different agents in the museum; a summary is given in Figure 16.

8.2.1. *Type of co-production*

The typology of co-initiation, co-management, co-delivery and co-design was used to examine whether exhibition teams operating in particular modes were more likely to involve external parties in particular ways. Much of this analysis was inconclusive, but there were some indications that the values profile might influence the type of co-production. First, the three cases with the highest level of co-initiation all demonstrated a club values profile (13. Pilots, 14. Farming and 15. Graphic Art). The host museum for all of these cases had very high levels of volunteer involvement, being either entirely or predominantly run by volunteers, and this appears to have facilitated grass-roots generation of ideas for exhibitions. Second, although there was very little evidence of co-management in any of the cases studied, those that did involve external parties in any management activities either had a mixed values profile (4. Victorians and 12. Design) or were dominated by club (14. Farming and 15. Graphic Art) or visitor attraction (19. Land Girls) modes. In terms of co-design and co-delivery, there were no obvious patterns. More details of the breakdown of the types of co-production and the dominant MVF mode are provided in Appendix - A16.

8.2.2. *Nature of external parties*

There was some evidence that the values profile influenced the kind of external parties who were involved in the production of exhibitions. In the cases that were dominated by temple values, there were more professional providers and fewer lay people or service users. This pattern was reversed in cases where club or forum values dominated. In these cases, greater numbers of non-

professionals were involved and fewer professionals. The results of this analysis suggest a pattern rather than provide conclusive evidence for it. Given the nature of the research, this is a useful finding and identifies a possible area for further research. This pattern is illustrated in figure 17.

Figure 17: External parties classified as professional providers or museum users and the dominant MVF mode

Nature of external party involved	Cases where this pattern was seen
Mostly professionalised providers, i.e. includes personnel from other museums, libraries, universities, freelance designers and other experts.	2. Mixed 7. Temple 10. Mixed 11. Mixed 17. Temple
Even mixture of professionalised providers and museum users.	3. Mixed 5. Mixed 6. Forum 12. Mixed 15. Club 18. Club 19. Visitor Attraction
Mostly museum users, e.g. visitors, potential visitors, students, local residents etc.	1. Mixed 4. Mixed 8. Club 9. Mixed 13. Club 14. Club 16. Mixed 20. Forum

8.2.3. Depth of co-production

The dominant values profile of the exhibition project appears to have a strong influence on the depth of co-production. Using Bovaird's matrix, the cases were plotted and their dominant MVF mode shown (Figure 18). Cases operating in the temple mode appeared to have shallower co-production. The two temple cases limited external parties to other professionals and kept a tight control of planning. While cases dominated by the club mode are shown in a number of places, it is noticeable that the bottom right-hand square is occupied by two club

cases (13. Pilots and 14. Farming), diagonally opposite the two temple cases (7. Iran and 17. Crusades). It may be significant that the former pair were based in smaller museums with a high level of volunteers while the later pair took place in large and highly professionalised museums. In the central square, where, according to Bovaird, we see the full co-production, there is a mixture of club, forum and mixed value profiles. The absence of temple and visitor attraction cases suggests that these modes are not as conducive to full co-production as the other modes. Alternatively, it may be a reflection of the sample, but, as explained in Chapter 5, the sample was designed to be as representative as possible in the circumstances.

Figure 18: A matrix of co-production showing the dominant mode using the Museum Values Framework. (After (Bovaird, 2007))

	Professionals as sole service planners	Service user and/or community as co-planner	No professional input into service planning
Professionals as sole deliverers	7. Temple 17. Temple		
Professionals and users communities as co-deliverers	1. Mixed 2. Mixed 3. Mixed 8. Club 9. Mixed 16. Mixed 18. Club 19. Visitor Attraction	4. Club 5. Mixed 6. Forum 10. Club 11. Mixed 12. Mixed 15. Club 20. Forum	
Users/community as sole deliverers			13. Club 14. Club

8.2.4. Rationale for co-production

How individuals explained the reasons for involving external parties revealed considerable interaction between different layers of values, i.e. those of the

individuals, the project, the organisation and beyond. These layers and the interactions between them have already been touched on and will be discussed more fully later in this chapter. Here I will just give three examples to illustrate how this process appeared to operate in providing the rationale for co-production. These examples demonstrate both alignment and misalignment between the layers of values and show how the tensions between the values were negotiated.

In 9. Military Women, there was evidence of tension between the individual and institutional values, resulting in a sub-culture for the exhibition project. The dominant institutional culture was one that valued tried-and-tested methods and expert opinion and saw visitors as guests, i.e. a temple mode. However, the value profile of the project was a mixture of club and forum modes. The curator of documents, who led the exhibition, appeared to be disengaged from the dominant institutional culture. It was not just that she was unable to explain how this exhibition fitted into the museum's wider strategic objectives, but that her approach to the work of the museum appeared to contrast with the approach of the wider museum and its public image. The idea that this exhibition was some kind of sub-culture is supported by the fact that it had been produced and funded by the marketing department rather than through the standard processes for creating exhibitions. It was the first exhibition the curator of documents had organised, and her inexperience may have contributed to her approach. As she said, the process of putting the exhibition together was '... *quite a learning curve*' (Curator of Documents, p.3). Although the production of the exhibition had relatively low levels of external involvement, the exhibition acted as a springboard inviting contributions from outsiders,

specifically ex-service women. Her approach and the project ethos appeared to be slightly out of step with the museum's standard organisational practice. The curator of documents sought to address a gap in the museum's displays by focusing on military women. The dominant narrative of the host museum revolved around military strength and technical achievement. Assuming that history and museum displays can be gendered (Porter, 1991; Porter, 1996; Rowbotham, 1973), the museum presented a masculine version of history in which women played only a very minor role. It appeared that both the subject matter and approach to the exhibition-making process contrasted with the museum's standard practice.

In Case 3. Quilts, the exhibition organiser also gave practical reasons for involving external parties, i.e. she wanted to borrow more quilts to display alongside examples from the museum's collection and to have quilting demonstrated to visitors. In addition, she understood the importance of involving people beyond the museum in order to widen the narrative of the exhibition, and she talked about maintaining the relationship the museum had established with a local quilting group. The curator's reasons were broadly in line with the priorities mapped out in the museum's development plans. Both appeared to express ideological reasons for wanting to involve local people in their museum. The institutional culture appeared to emphasise active consultation and involvement with the community; for instance, in the run-up to a major redevelopment of the museum, extensive consultation had taken place with local residents, museum visitors, schools and other stakeholders. However, the project values appeared to be at odds with the personal and organisational ones. The exhibition was developed at the same time that the

museum was undergoing a major redevelopment. Just before this exhibition opened, the museum site had undergone a multimillion-pound renovation, during which the permanent galleries were redisplayed, a new playground built and a café opened. Quilts was the first exhibition to be held in the new temporary space, and, in the run-up to the grand reopening, the standard exhibition planning processes '*broke down*' (Curator, p.7). All available resources were focused on the major redevelopment, leaving little time for work on the temporary exhibition. As a result, the curator was working on the exhibition with very little support from other members of the museum team and with urgent calls on her time. While personal and institutional values were disposed to collaborative working, the project values were not. This squeeze may have contributed to the problems the curator encountered with one of the external parties. If she had not been under so much pressure, she might have been better able to spend more time with the group.

In some cases, the values were aligned to such a degree that the layers appeared to blur into each other. For example in 20. Guides the museum was very much part of the community it served. The default method of producing exhibitions was to involve people from outside the museum, and the museum and galleries assistant was keen to work with a range of external parties. The quote below shows how the ideas for exhibitions develop and involvement evolves:

'...living in the community for a number of years, it doesn't all happen as straightforward as that. You're maybe out one evening having a chat with someone over a glass of wine, "oh, yes, mumm, you've got that" and also I knew what we had in the collection from previously And it is more organic than, "Oh, I think this is a good idea, I need to speak to so-and-so," you know. It is a matter of bumping into people and things happen much more organically than that.' (Museum and Galleries Assistant, 20. Guides, p.2)

The defining feature in this case was that the museum and galleries assistant was an integrated part of the community the museum served. This level of co-production and integration was not unique. It was also seen in other small community museums, some run by volunteers and others by paid staff. In these cases, it was often difficult to tell where the museum ended and external parties began.

8.3. The role of co-production in different modes

This section draws together the findings to describe how the involvement of external parties appears to vary depending on the MVF modes. These descriptions are simplified abstractions since, in reality, the modes operate in combination with each other, rather than in isolation.

8.3.1. The club mode

Co-production can take many forms in the club mode, and the division between insider and outsider is frequently blurred. However, there is often an inner circle of dedicated members who make the management and planning decisions, while a larger group of members work on delivery. This pattern was seen in three of the museums that were run primarily by volunteers (13. Pilots, 14. Farming and 15. Graphic Art). The working style of the club revolves around individuals. The direction of the exhibition is shaped, very largely, by the individual interests and preferences of members. Indeed, the club mode is often driven by the vision and energy of a few charismatic individuals. This reliance on a few strong individuals can lead to problems. The emphasis on personalities means that disagreements over the work can turn into personal

arguments. There are also risks of an over-reliance on one person or small group of leaders. For example in 15. Graphic Design, the chairman had recently died; his death cast a long shadow and the resulting vacuum impacted on the exhibition. This raises important issues around succession planning.

To operate successfully in the club mode, the museum manager needs to pay particular attention to the human resources, to nurture the talent and enthusiasms of the members. The club style of working can be extremely productive when individuals are given roles appropriate to their skills and interests (10. Landscape, 12. Design, 13. Pilots, 14. Farming, 15. Graphic Art, 16. Music and 20. Guides). As well as understanding the motivations of external parties and using their skills appropriately, the manager operating in club mode needs to be able to moderate between differences of opinion in order to minimise destructive conflicts. Personal contact and networking skills in the relevant communities were important for cases operating in the club mode. Some exhibition organisers appeared to be particular skilful in leveraging help from external parties, frequently securing services for free. In many cases, this was about being part of the community and knowing whom to ask.

A number of the cases operating in the club mode demonstrated how well connected they were, for example acquiring the goods and services they needed free of charge in order to stretch their limited exhibition budgets, borrowing text boards from a neighbouring museum (2. Crime) and involving local artists to produce work specifically for the exhibition (10. Landscape Prints). Other cases used their network to maximise the publicity for the exhibition by plugging into local celebrations and anniversaries (11. Hospital,

13. Pilots, 20. Guides). While it was not always apparent at the project level of the individual exhibitions studied, the economic model of the club mode carries risks at the organisational level. In the absence of members with deep pockets, the inward focus of the club mode may well struggle to secure adequate resources. While the support of members may be sufficient for very small museums to survive, e.g. 14. Farming, in order to expand, the club museum needs to look for external funding. It is noticeable that the large museums that showed a strong preference for the club mode did not rely entirely on funding from the members, but had relatively stable income from charities or local authorities (1. School, 2. Crime, 8. Buildings, 13. Pilots, 15. Graphic Art, 20. Guides). 18. Horses appeared to be an exception to this and relied heavily on income from ticket sales.

8.3.2. The temple mode

The external parties that are most frequently involved are other museums, academic institutions and private collectors, presumably because they can provide the knowledge and objects the temple wants for the exhibition. To operate successfully in the temple mode, museum staff need not only to have sufficient topic knowledge but also to be part of the relevant networks in order to be accepted as a credible working partner. While acceptance and trust between the parties is a prerequisite for all successful co-production, the nature of the external parties differs. When operating in the temple mode, museum staff need to be part of scholarly and connoisseur networks. For instance in developing 7. Iran, the curator of Islamic collections spent a considerable amount of time visiting museum colleagues in the Middle East, and it was also

important for her to know which private individuals collected Islamic art and historical artefacts. It was also critical that the museum's request to borrow items would be favourably received. These kinds of relationships take time to establish and need to be nurtured over years. Another example of this kind of relationship was seen in Case 17. Crusades, where the curator of medieval and later archaeology had established links with the medieval specialists at the city's university. Indeed, these links were close enough that the idea of working on the project was initially discussed at a social occasion. Developing and maintaining trust is partly about personal contact and partly about the organisation maintaining professional standards. The manager's role when operating in the temple mode is to ensure that the museum has experts who are accepted in the relevant external networks and that the museum's brand is trusted and admired among the external parties with whom the museum seeks to work.

8.3.3. The visitor attraction mode

Much of what takes place in the visitor attraction mode could be described as customer care and marketing. The most common form of co-production in this mode involved the visitor and potential visitor, with the aim of understanding the audience's needs. This may take the form of, for example, consultation groups, visitor feedback and/or visitor research. In some of the larger museums in the sample, there was a high level of visitor research, and this was considered a routine part of the production process, e.g., formative research into what audiences understood about the topic; this information was used to shape the brief and write the exhibition text. In some cases, this research might focus on a particular group in an attempt to better understand their needs, as in Case 5.

War and Migration, which targeted local residents of Afro-Caribbean origin. External professionals, such as designers and writers, were also frequently employed when the museum operated in the visitor attraction mode. The skills needed to successfully operate in this mode include core business skills such as financial, project and contract management, coupled with empathy for the museum's mission. This empathy is critical and enables business-minded individuals to understand that decisions must be made with a view to the wider aims of the organisation, rather than purely to generate income. A good example of these skills was seen in Case 5, where the exhibition manager had a background in administrative work and qualifications in business studies (as well as a M.A. in gallery studies), and also in Case 7. Iran, where a project manager was employed to deal with the more practical aspects of the exhibition.

8.3.4. *The forum mode*

External parties may be included in any part of the production process, but in this sample they were most often involved mainly in the delivery, i.e. providing the objects and narrative for the exhibition. The selection of the external parties appeared to be based on a mixture of ideological and practical grounds, e.g. in creating 6. Iron Age, a substantial consultation exercise took place to help shape the exhibition. Local Pagans, scientists, politicians, residents and museum staff were invited to discuss how to present an Iron Age body in the exhibition. The membership of the consultation group appeared to be influenced by a desire to do the right thing and political expedience. The museum was part of an on-going debate over the display of human remains,

and the Pagans appeared to feel that they had a right to be consulted about the display of Iron Age human remains, a feeling that was reciprocated by the museum staff, who felt they had a duty to involve them. There was also awareness that failure to involve this group might result in negative publicity for the museum. It was notable that this exhibition took place in a university museum which taught museum studies and wanted to position itself at the cutting edge of museum thinking and practice. The behaviour of museum staff was informed by ideas about ownership of the collection, source communities and who has the right to create meaning from the objects.

Another characteristic of the co-production in this mode was making connections with events and activities being organised by others. In some cases, this made the museum exhibition subservient to the priorities of another organisation. This was evident in the two cases where the exhibition organisers worked very closely with students (4. Victorian and 12. Design). In these cases, the needs of the students in terms of what they needed from the exhibition-making process to pass their course were very influential in how the exhibition was produced, making these cases good examples of the dialogical nature of forum behaviour. The skills needed to operate successfully in the forum mode are largely social skills, such as communication, empathy and negotiation, coupled with highly developed political skills and an awareness of the latest museum fashions. The personnel working on these types of project need to be flexible enough to respond to the people they are working with, but not lose sight of the overall objectives of the project. In 5. War and Migration, the exhibition manager demonstrated a number of these skills by adapting the original exhibition brief to take into account the concerns of the consultation

group, who wanted the exhibition to look at the Black presence in Britain prior to the *Windrush*, while maintaining the central theme of the exhibition.

Having described how the role of co-production differs in the four modes, the next step was to explore possible explanations for these patterns. The MVF was used to investigate how values shaped behaviour in these cases. The available data was used to examine the values profile of the exhibition organisers, the exhibition team and the museum as an organisation. Dividing the values profile into three different layers enabled the organisational culture in these case studies to be analysed. Doing so provided some insights into how organisational culture develops and how it influences behaviour. For museum managers, this is important because it suggests both techniques they can adopt to control projects and the limits of that control.

8.4. How values operate at different levels

This section will consider three levels of museum values and how they help to explain the pattern of co-production found in the case studies. It also suggests how these layers interact with each other to create a specific set of values for the project, or, in other words, a group culture.

8.4.1. Individual level

The research did not interview everyone involved in the production of the exhibitions, nor did it gather information on every aspect of the personal values of those who were interviewed. However, it did gather data on the interviewees' opinions on the function of museums and their preferred ways of working.

Using this admittedly limited information, it was possible to assess the individuals' attitudes and opinions and make a judgment about how this influenced the way in which the exhibition had been produced and the nature of co-production.

Interviewees' responses to the question 'What do you think museums are for?' were used to create a version of the MVF that mapped the personal opinions of the interviewees (Appendix - A14). The responses are clearly a snapshot taken on a particular day in a particular situation.

All interviewees talked about a range of functions. A minority demonstrated a clear preference for a particular aspect of museum work, seeing this as more important than other possible functions. For example the curator/acting director of 18. Horses emphasised the care and preservation of the collections above the other functions. The nature of the interviewees' jobs appeared to influence their ideas about the function of museums, or an alternative interpretation is that the job they had chosen was a result of their pre-existing preferences. This was most evident in 7. Iran, where three people had been interviewed; the curator put most emphasis on the preservation and collections, while the interpretation officer and project manager put greater emphasis on the other functions of museums.

Personal opinions appeared to influence the production of the exhibitions and the nature of the co-production. For example, in 6. Iron Age, the deputy director demonstrated a strong belief in the importance of museums to encourage debate, which had a direct influence on the consultative approach to creating

the exhibition. His opinions are made clear in the following, where he describes his ideal museum, identifying primarily with the forum role of museums:

'It would certainly be a listening museum; a museum which accepted that the things that its staff had to say about the collections were one of many; that this was a place where you bring together people with different points of view; that part of the role is actually to be a forum, where these things can be discussed; that part of the role of a museum is also to facilitate some sort of consensus that comes out of that; it is a place which is fun to come to; that you can have things for different ages; that they can feel safe there, that they feel it is a place to play. But at least with some museums, though not perhaps all, it is a place that will provoke you sometimes, make you think about why things are the way they are or why they are interpreted in this way. Are there alternatives? So it may send you out satisfied from a social or play point of view, but also satisfied intellectually; you know that something has happened to make you think in a different way.'

(Deputy Director, 6. Iron Age, p.19)

On the whole, the MVF framework worked well to show the profile of opinions, but it did not capture the full range of the interviewees' opinions. For example the printmaker (10. Landscape Prints) talked about the nostalgia and emotional comfort offered by museums. This was recorded as 'bringing out aspects of meaning and identity' in the forum quadrant, but perhaps this is inadequate and the emotional value/functions of museums need to be integrated into the MVF. Less data was available on the personal working preferences and, as a result, this was not mapped using the MVF. Despite this, it was possible to piece together information on the importance of personal preferences. Some interviewees clearly enjoyed working collaboratively and, particularly those in smaller museums, were keen to find people outside their museum to work with. This was the case in 12. Design where the learning and outreach support officer wanted to find like-minded people to work with and found such a person in the college tutor. As he explained:

'There was something special about this one, and I think it was because we, I keep saying we, because E— [the college tutor] and I just clicked and we basically instinctively knew what we wanted to do and where we wanted to go.' (Outreach Support Officer, 12. Design, p.6)

In other cases, some individuals were wary of working with external parties and so the level of involvement was lower. This appeared to be the case in 8.

Buildings and 9. Military Women, but perhaps for slightly different reasons. In 8. the exhibition organiser just did not see the need to work with many external parties to create this exhibition.

It would appear that personal preferences and attitudes were influential variables in determining how the exhibitions were produced, including the nature and level of co-production. However, the links between individual opinions and preferences and the nature of co-production were not always aligned. For example, in 18. Horses, the curator/acting director demonstrated a personal preference to operate in the club mode, but circumstances (specifically the need to generate income) required him to behave in ways more closely connected to the visitor attraction mode. This suggests that personal preferences are only one of the factors that determine how exhibitions are created.

8.4.2. Exhibition level

Chapter 6 explored possible links between a number of individual exhibition variables and the way the exhibition was created. Evidence was put forward suggesting connections between certain variables and types of co-production. For example, where exhibitions had larger budgets, there was a higher

incidence of employing freelance designers. Using the MVF, it was possible to explore some of the project-level variables in more detail.

Using data from the interviews and documents such as exhibition briefs, the MVF was used to analyse a series of exhibition variables, namely, the exhibition aims, the motivation for involving external parties, the type of external parties, the source of the narrative, the design ethos, the visitors' role and the working style of the exhibition team (see Appendix 14).

The working style of the exhibition team was especially interesting. Given the big differences in the way the exhibitions were produced and the size of the exhibition team, identifying a working style was not straightforward. However, using the MVF, it was possible to divide the sample into three broad groups with similar working styles. The first (3. Quilts, 5. War and Migration, 6. Iron Age, 11. Hospital and 19. Land Girls) demonstrated a combination of working styles that incorporated concern for human resources issues, the need to set targets and to monitor and co-ordinate work in a systematic fashion, while leaving some flexibility to take advantage of new creative opportunities. A second group (1. School, 4. Victorians, 9. Military Women, 10. Landscape, 12. Design, 13. Pilots, 14. Farming, 15. Graphic Art, 16. Music and 20. Guides) demonstrated a preference for open, inclusive and experimental styles of working with a strong focus on the abilities and interests of the people involved. This group could be described as combining club and forum working styles. The third group (7. Iran and 17. Crusades) showed a preference for carefully planned work, hierarchical systems, clearly demarcated roles and tried-and-tested methods. This third group is relatively small, which may suggest that co-produced projects do not

favour this less flexible way of working, which could be described as a mixture of temple and visitor-attraction working styles.

Another factor that appeared to have a significant influence on the group culture was the role of the visitor in generating income, although the limited data made this impossible to explore fully. In only three of the cases did visitors have to pay to see the exhibition (7. Iran, 14. Farming and 18. Horses), but this did not mean that visitors were not seen as a potential source of income in some of the other cases. For a number of cases, temporary exhibitions played a central role in promoting the venue, and high visitor numbers were important in generating revenue, for example via sales in the museum shop and/or café. In addition, the number of visitors is often very important in justifying public subsidy, and, if museums fail to meet the targets, there is a risk that they will lose funding. Attitudes to the visitors' role in helping the museum generate income did appear to influence the nature of co-production. This was probably most evident in the larger museums where visitor/customer research was frequently taken seriously.

8.4.3. Institutional level

From the start of the research, the unit of analysis was identified as the exhibition. As a result, the data collected at the institutional level was limited. Despite the lack of data, the importance of the institutional values and behavioural norms became apparent during the research. The research explored a range of institutional factors that, potentially, had a bearing on the pattern of co-production, including geographical location, governance,

organisational strategic objectives, the nature of the collections, the funding structures and staffing body. Some of these appeared to have a strong influence on their own, but often it was a collection of variables that created an organisational culture that shaped how exhibitions were put together. The economic model was therefore explored using the MVF (Appendix 14).

The economic model goes beyond the size of the exhibition budget. It is about the overall business model of the organisation and, in particular, the sources of income. Gaps in the data limited the analysis, but, because this appeared to be important, attempts were made to understand their influence. Annual reports were used to identify the main sources of income alongside information from the interviewees. Annual reports were found for the charitable and national museums in the sample, but, because of the governance structure of local authority and university museums, it was much more difficult to use annual reports in this way. Given the lack of robust data, the analysis is flawed. Nevertheless, this does provide some indication of influence of the funding and highlights an area for further research.

Perhaps more significant were the exhibition organiser's perceptions of the visitors as potential sources of funding and the pressure they felt to generate income. This was touched on in the section above about exhibition level values, and is a good example of how the levels interconnect. For example, in those cases where the host museum depended heavily on income from ticket sales and retail income (7. Iran and 18. Horses), there was considerable emphasis on producing an exhibition that would result in high visitor numbers.

The links between organisational values and those of the particular exhibition being studied were rarely straightforward. In cases where the host museum was part of a larger service, the connections were sometimes remote or selective. For example, while the overall museum service had particular strategic aims, these were sometimes reinterpreted by individuals working at specific venues. In some cases, the interviewees recognised that there were differences between the individual museums in the same service. For example,

'... our brief is slightly different from the main museum and art gallery'
(Learning and Outreach Support Officer, 12. Design, p.8)

Where the money came from also appeared to influence the priorities and in turn the exhibition production process. Many of the host museums received the bulk of their costs from the public purse, and while the 'arm's-length principle', i.e. a separation between the source of the money and its application, makes direct intervention unlikely, the source of funding appeared to have some influence on the overall strategic direction of the museum, which in turn influenced choices about exhibition and audience priorities.

While a minority of the cases do indicate a match between the organisational behaviour and the economic model (7. Iran and 14. Farming), in most cases there is not a strong correlation. There are a number of possible explanations for this. It may indicate the successful operation of the 'arm's-length principle', i.e. the intentional distance between the funding source and the delivery of the service. Another possible explanation is that the MVF is a poor analytic tool in this instance. It is possible that some of the assumptions made are wrong, for instance separating out the source of public-sector funding into national, educational/research institutions and local authority. Despite the problems of

examining the impact the economic model has on organisational behaviour, this is an area that deserves further attention. It is possible that other aspects of the institutional framework have a significant influence on the nature of co-production and might be an area for further research.

The MVF analysis suggested that individual, exhibition and institutional variables interact with each other to create a specific organisational culture. The layers of values appear to be both influenced and affected by each other. The MVF analysis examined only three levels of values, but this is an oversimplification. There were indications that there are additional layers of values that play a part in creating group culture, for example external factors, such as the rise of participation culture and the zeitgeist among professional groups. These external factors have been discussed elsewhere in the thesis (notably in Chapters 2 and 6), but a detailed exploration of them was beyond the scope of this research. The group culture created through these various interactions is not homogeneous nor is it static. The group culture is a dynamic and evolving set of values resulting from the interaction of various levels of values. Complex as this is, it may be the key to understanding the different patterns of co-production.

8.5. Conclusion

While the MVF facilitated the confirmation of emergent patterns and allowed variables to be examined in a systematic fashion, it is far from perfect. Further work to refine the MVF would be helpful. This could be done by applying new iterations of the MVF to analyse the data and/or by acquiring new data to work

with. A lack of data made it difficult to fully explore the impact of some of the variables; this was especially true for the economics of each exhibition. There is scope for further investigation of how the individual exhibition budgets and the institutional economic model influence behaviour. Also, there are aspects of temporary exhibitions and their production methods that were beyond the scope of this research, such as the impact of co-production on the participants and on the experience of exhibition visitors. Despite these limitations, this analysis has demonstrated that the MVF can be used to identify competing priorities in museum projects and give pointers as to how they affect behaviour.

The analysis revealed what may appear obvious, i.e. that different museums and projects within museums have different value profiles and that these result in different behaviour. At first sight, the patterns of co-production seem only natural. Of course, a local museum is likely to work with members of the local community, while a large museum, with bigger exhibition budgets, is likely to employ freelance designers. However, the patterns of co-production identified in this research did not always match these expectations. For instance 5. War and Migration involved external parties in a way that might be more typically associated with smaller community museums. This suggested that there were deeper factors shaping this behaviour.

The MVF analysis looked beyond the superficial differences such as the size of the budget to find out what was driving the pattern of co-production. Using the four modes of operation (i.e. club, temple, visitor attraction and forum), it was possible to discuss the co-production of museum exhibitions in a more granulated fashion. Rather than seeing it in stark absolute terms (either/or,

good/bad), it became possible to understand why a particular pattern of co-production emerged in a specific case. The idea that co-production can be driven by different value profiles and be used for different purposes is less obvious but, based on this research, appears to be true.

This analysis found that the pattern of co-production appears to be shaped by multiple factors that operate in combination with each other and at several interacting layers. The complexity of the phenomena made it difficult to identify clear causal links. However, this research strongly suggests that values, and specifically the group culture that emerges from them, appeared to be the driver that orchestrates these multiple factors. This finding begs an important question for museum managers – if values influence action in the ways this research suggests, then how should they work with values? Can managers have any degree of control over how group culture develops? And what, if anything, can be done to engender successful co-production? These implications for museum management will be explored in the final chapter.

9. Implications and Conclusion

9.1. Introduction

This research set out to explore co-production in a museum context and to understand the reasons why the pattern of co-production varied in different museum settings. It found that exhibition making is, by its very nature, often a collaborative process, concurring with the existing literature on exhibition making. It also found that, at least in the cases examined, external involvement tended to be restricted to particular forms of co-production, i.e. plenty of co-delivery, some co-initiation and co-design but very little co-management. Beyond this basic pattern in the nature of co-production, there was considerable variation in terms of the external parties, the depth of their involvement and the reasons why they were involved. Previous chapters suggested that while some of the variation can be explained by obvious differences, such as the size of the exhibition budget, values appeared to offer greater explanatory power. Given the nature of this research, it was not possible to identify definitive links between causes and effects; however, the analysis using the MVF suggested a strong correlation between the values profile and the nature of co-production.

This final chapter discusses the implications of these findings for museum managers and those who study museum management. The chapter begins with a discussion about the limits of management in an environment where values and group culture appear to drive behaviour. It then addresses two questions: What is the most appropriate way to manage co-produced projects in museums? And what are the best ways for museum managers to work with the dynamic combination of values found in a museum environment? While these are not entirely separate questions, the chapter deals with each in turn. It

moves on to outline some of the wider implications for museum managers. The final section sets out the contribution this research makes both to the practice of museum management and to the academic literature. It also outlines a number of areas for further research using the MVF.

9.2. *The limits of management*

If, as this research suggests, values are key factors in shaping behaviour, we must ask what role managers can or should play. The dominance of group culture in determining the nature of co-production would appear to suggest that the manager's role is severely curtailed. The thesis has not fully explored where values come from or exactly how group culture is created, and a detailed discussion of the issues is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, the concept of values and group culture has been threaded through earlier chapters, and it is worth pulling the evidence from this research together to clarify the possible role of managers.

9.2.1. *How group culture evolves*

Individuals enter the museum workplace with their own personal set of values. To varying degrees, these values appear to be malleable. People appear able to adapt their values in order to accommodate other values. In these cases, personal values appeared to react with various environmental factors, including the values of co-workers, professional communities of practice, organisational procedures and societal norms. Through a process of negotiation and self-reflection, a group, for instance a project team, developed a set of values that

informed how the group operated. In earlier chapters, these sets of values have been referred to as values profiles and group culture. A particular group culture seemed to emerge from interactions between individuals and the context in which they were operating. In some cases, external parties had a significant influence on the group culture (e.g. 6. Iron Age), while in others they appeared to slot into a pre-existing culture (e.g. 19. Land Girls). None of the group cultures appeared to be entirely static, but the speed at which they changed varied. Some appeared slow, even resistant (e.g. 14. Farming and 18. Horses), others were more open to change (e.g. 10. Landscape and 12. Design) and others actively sought it (6. Iron Age and 9. Military Women). This idea of a constantly evolving and powerful group culture reflects ideas from complexity management theory (Blackman, 2000 ; Marion & Uhl-Bien, 2003; McKelvey, 2010; Olmedo, 2010; Stacey & Griffin, 2006; Stacey, Griffin, & Shaw, 2000). It follows that the most appropriate style of management will change depending on the circumstances, and that to be effective managers must be flexible and adaptable.

9.2.2. The role of the manager in shaping group culture

Managers cannot hope to control group culture from above, since the power to influence is distributed throughout the system, but this does not mean that managers are powerless. Everything managers do matters, but so does everything everyone else does. The evidence from this research suggests that managers were able to shape the nature of co-production. For instance, when an exhibition organiser produced a project brief, defined goals or selected members of the team, this did impact how the exhibition was produced, but their

actions were not always the determining factors. Other factors, such as the host museum's standard exhibition-making practice and the preferences of team members, may have more power.

A good example of this was in 10. Landscape, where the exhibition was strongly shaped by the exhibition organiser in terms of topic, content and how it was produced, but there were elements beyond his control. It appeared to be very significant that the exhibition organiser was a practising artist as well as an employee of the museum. As he said,

'It would not have happened if I was not here, but having said that it is often the case with our displays.' (Museum Designer, 10. Landscape, p.3)

He also acknowledges that the exhibition project evolved in ways he had not planned and could not control. He described how the product (i.e. the exhibition) was shaped by the preferences and actions of the artists, specifically how the contributing artists responded to the brief they were given. The artists visited the site as a group, and they appeared, with some exceptions, to have formed a consensus about the best approach. The exhibition organiser had hoped that the artists would respond to the scale and grandeur of the landscape, but instead they explored small and intimate aspects.

'The resulting exhibition was very different from that which I had envisaged. It was much more traditional and not very challenging. The main feature seemed to be that each XX artist had reacted to the landscape by choosing a small detail.' (Museum Designer, 10. Landscape, p.3)

The conclusion to be drawn seems to be that the manager cannot simply control or direct the process from above; rather, managers are an integrated part of the system. The way that these co-produced exhibitions evolved and the corresponding limits on management control appears to be characteristic of creative and collaborative projects but, as complexity management theory

suggests, may also apply more widely. Complexity management argues that the manager is part of a larger interacting system in all sorts of organisational settings, as this quote explains,

'The system and its agents are emerging together, simultaneously constraining and being constrained by each other ... Far from there being no point in doing anything, everything one does, including nothing, has potential consequences. Far from the outcome being a matter of fate or destiny, it is the co-creation of all interacting agents.' (Stacey, 2007 p.7).

For managers accepting that such a system exists and that group values are a powerful force does not mean that managers have no power. It does not mean that traditional management activities, such as planning and setting budgets, are futile. However it does limit what managers can do and it has implications for how they behave.

9.3. Managing co-production in museums

Bearing in mind that there are limits to what managers can do, particularly in terms of directly controlling activities and outcomes, there are practical lessons that can be taken from this research for museum managers who want to work with external parties. These lessons may be applied to co-produced exhibitions and, potentially, to other areas of museum work.

There is considerable agreement in the co-production literature on the general prerequisites and processes necessary for successful co-production. Despite the fact that most of the research into managing co-production was done in non-museum environments, the data suggested that these generic findings hold true for co-produced exhibitions in a museum context. The central tenets for successful co-production are as follows: a shared vision with a degree of

flexibility; trust and openness between the parties; genuine commitment to the co-production process; processes for the work to take place; shared understanding about how decisions are made; and good leadership (Archer & Cameron, 2009; Barnes et al., 2006; Brinkerhoff, 2002; Huxham & Vangen, 2005; Ostrom, 1996, 1997; Shirky, 2010; The Scottish Government, 2004). This section highlights some of the most relevant issues that emerged from the research.

9.3.1. Knowing when and how to use co-production

As has already been observed, co-production is a production method, and, although it may have consequences beyond the immediate project, it is a means to an end rather than an end in itself. Museum managers need different tools for different jobs, and they need to know how to pick the right one for the task. In other words, managers need more than a toolbox full of hammers to do a good job (Gerzon, 2006). While it is possible to create an exhibition entirely in-house, most exhibitions involve a degree of collaboration, and therefore the question is more likely to be which form of co-production is appropriate rather than whether to work with external parties. In answering questions about who should be involved and what they should be doing, museum managers should consider what they are trying to achieve and what resources are available to them (i.e. budget, time, the collection and the interests and skills of their core team) before selecting the method of production. Matching means to ends can be messy, and there is often more than one 'right' way to approach an exhibition. The data suggests that many of the participants in this research had a good appreciation of the need to match operational methods with the aims of

a particular exhibition. For example, in 2. Crime, the assistant curator restricted the number of external parties she approached, and most of the work was done in-house and with a few established contacts. This method of working was adopted largely because the exhibition was planned at short notice to fill an unexpected gap in the public programme owing to a delay in building work. The assistant curator had very limited resources and was working on a tight timescale. The principal aim of the exhibition was to fill a space as quickly as possible and significant co-production was not the most suitable method of creating the exhibition. The MVF may help managers to find the most appropriate combination of production methods for their specific situation, as well as helping researchers to understand the choices made by museum managers.

9.3.2. Planning co-produced projects

The best way to manage co-produced projects is at odds with elements of classic project management theory. A traditional project management approach would specify the aims, outputs and outcomes of the project as much as possible, but this appears not to suit co-produced projects. At least some scope for flexibility and development of the co-produced project is necessary to allow for creative development. This is about how the project is envisaged at the start, in terms of defining what is fixed, for example the general topic, budget and timescale, and what is open to change, for example the choice of objects and narrative. This is as much about attitudes as about how the brief is written, especially since written project briefs are unlikely to exist in all cases. In this sample, approximately half of the exhibitions had a written project brief, while

the rest operated largely within verbal understandings and organisational norms. There must be a shared understanding of the overall vision and aims of the project, but the outputs and outcomes should not be so tightly defined that there is no scope for the project to evolve. If there is no room for the project to develop, only limited forms of co-production are possible and external parties may feel redundant (Govier, 2010; Lynch, 2007), especially if their expectations differ from those of the organisers. Exhibition briefs can be a very useful tool in forging links between different communities of practice (Bogenrieder & van Baalen, 2007; Wenger, 1998) and establishing a shared understanding of the project. For example in 5. War and Migration, the exhibition brief was used as a basis for initial discussions with the advisory panel, and it was adapted following these discussions.

Another factor to consider in planning co-produced projects is the importance of allowing sufficient time to identify suitable external parties and develop trusting relationships with them. This is particularly important when working with external parties that are outsiders in the sense that they have no previous relationship with the museum or its personnel. The importance of allowing enough time was emphasised by several of the interviewees (3. Quilts, 5. War and Migration, 6. Iron Age , 12. Design and 20. Guides).

Additional thought should be given to ensuring good communication between the various parties. Involving external parties normally results in a larger team, larger than would be the case otherwise, and this means that more time is needed for communication. Internal exhibition teams may have other commitments within the museum but they are paid to do the job, whereas

external parties may have other commitments and priorities, so the museum needs to allow for the time frames of external parties. As this quote illustrates, *'... asking someone to read, I don't know, 50 pages of text and then expecting them to give it back to you next week, I mean, that is impossible when you are working with an advisory panel. You have to take into consideration that it might take a little longer to look through the text ...'* (Exhibition Manager, 5. War and Migration, p.11)

A final factor to consider in planning co-produced projects is finding an appropriate exit strategy or, more likely, a continuation strategy. Having established links with the external parties, it is likely that the museum would like to maintain and possibly develop the relationship(s). In doing so, the museum needs to consider what impact this might have on existing visitors and supporters.

9.3.3. Establish common ground by aligning values

The initial framing of a co-produced project is important. This is, in part, about defining the aims and parameters of the project, but it is not, as discussed above, about defining the project too tightly. From the cases studied, it appeared that establishing ways of working and building a shared understanding about processes were at least as important as agreeing the aims of the project. Where this was done successfully, the co-production ran more smoothly than when there were misapprehensions and the various parties appeared to be at odds with each other. The degree to which we are able to change our personal values is debatable, but if we accept the idea that group culture is created through an ongoing series of negotiations as set out above (9.2), then there is a role for managers in aligning values in order to create the most conducive group culture.

Happy, symbiotic relationships were not seen in all of the cases. In the cases where there were difficult relationships, it did not necessarily mean the exhibition was unsuccessful but it did mean more intensive work for the museum personnel. Difficult relationships were seen in a number of cases that produced very successful exhibitions, e.g. 3. Quilts, 10. Landscape and 16. Music. Where there were problems, the main cause of frustration and conflict appeared to be a mismatch in expectations and behavioural norms. For example, the exhibition organiser in 3. Quilts expressed disappointment that one of the external groups she invited to work with the museum did not make as full a contribution as she had hoped for. After the exhibition, she reflected on some of the problems and her determination to include a particular group:

' ... with hindsight, I am not sure if I was right or wrong because I was getting a negative feedback from them, or not a negative feedback, but a less than enthusiastic feedback It was a lot of not sure and not returning phone calls and not replying to letters, and so perhaps I should have let go but it was very important to me that I involved this group. But I didn't feel that it was right to go ahead with another textile group that was local but less local, and to ignore the group that was really very local.' (Curator, 3. Quilts, p.4).

The more successful co-production relationships occurred in cases where the external parties and museum staff appeared to have an instinctive understanding of the project. While having a clear project brief and identifying mutual benefits helped, the key to really successful relationships appeared to be about shared norms and beliefs, in other words, aligning the values of those involved to create a project culture that supported the co-production.

One possible interpretation of this is that people with similar world-views are more likely to work well together than those with disparate views. This does not mean that people with diverse outlooks cannot work successfully and happily together, but it does mean that when people with different views are brought

together, extra attention needs to be given to creating a set of project values that will support joint working, i.e. creating bridging and bonding social capital (Putman, 2007). Examples of this were seen in 5. War and Migration and 6. Iron Age. In both cases, the museum personnel went out of their way to establish mutually acceptable ways of working, for example by setting up an advisory group and genuinely listening to the concerns raised by members of the group. In both cases, people with a diverse range of backgrounds and attitudes created the exhibition together.

Aligning values at a project level will contribute to the success of a co-produced project. If these are reinforced at an organisational level, all the better. For example the planning documents for the museum service that hosted cases 16. Music and 17. Crusades were produced in an environment that supported co-production. This museum service showed evidence of aligning its strategic aims with operational procedures in order to encourage external parties, specifically people living in Wales, to become involved with the museum. One of the priority areas in the museum service's operational plan was:

'Learning through sharing our plans with visitors and jointly developing the ways in which we work to provide meaningful access to the collections ...'

This aim was reinforced by the form used to propose exhibitions, which included a section asking how external partners were going to be involved.

The lesson is that co-produced projects can be managed more easily if those involved can establish ways of working that align values as well as aims.

9.3.4. *Mutual trust*

Along with shared goals and values, trust is an essential part of the 'social glue' (Dhillon, 2005) that makes co-produced projects successful. The importance of trust was also something that was stressed by several interviewees and is a theme in much of the co-production literature. Good, trusting relationships were seen by many interviewees as extremely helpful in delivering a successful co-produced project. The depth of the trust can vary, but at the very least the parties need to believe that those involved are committed to the project and will do their very best to contribute in an appropriate manner. In working with new groups, the need is to establish trust. This can be difficult with communities that are culturally different from those working for the museum and/or when there has been a tradition of mistrust. However, trust can never be taken for granted, even among groups that appear to share similar values. Having established mutual trust, it can be lost relatively quickly if one or other of the parties is seen to behave inappropriately. Maintaining trust rests on careful management and good communication during the co-produced project.

Finding a gatekeeper to gain access to a new group was a technique used by a number of exhibition organisers. An introduction by a trusted member of the group appeared to be an effective route to establishing trust. For instance, in 20. Guides, the exhibition organiser, the museum and galleries assistant, knew very little about the Guiding movement before embarking on the exhibition. As a result, she established contact with a local assistant Guider, who introduced her to various people in the Guides and Trefoil Guild. These introductions resulted in numerous loans and offers of help. The two women forged an effective

working relationship despite their different characters, and the trust between them allowed the exhibition organiser to create new trusting relationships beyond her initial network. Another example of a personal relationship contributing to the success of a co-produced project was seen in 12. Design. The exhibition organiser and his main collaborator, the college tutor, had worked well together on two previous projects, and their track record of working together contributed to the willingness of the museum and the college to embark on a more ambitious co-produced project. Without the existing level of trust, it seems unlikely that the museum curator would have agreed to the joint exhibition.

Appropriate levels of trust may be one of the more important factors in successful co-produced projects, and a lack of trust appears to be a significant barrier to co-production. As such, it may be an area for further research in a museums context.

9.3.5. *Workforce factors*

There was strong evidence from this research that the people working in the museum are an important element in the success or failure of a co-produced project. Previous work has identified particular characteristics which appear to support collaborative working, such as flexibility, outcome focused and being at ease with ambiguity (Lank, 2006). The research supported the idea that some people appeared to be better at co-production than others. The case studies provided examples of people with the kind of characteristics that were particularly helpful in co-production as well as a few who appeared ill disposed

to this way of working. Looking beyond individual characteristics and preferences it was possible to identify three key workforce factors. These included a key set of professional skills, the attitudes of the team towards co-production and investment into establishing and nurturing networks.

Those working on co-produced projects need to be competent in a range of areas but there are two areas which appear to be crucial and work in combination with each other. First effective communication skills are vital. This includes the ability to, listen, understand multiple perspectives, pick up on non-verbal communication, negotiate and facilitate discussion. These skills are important in managing any team, but it would seem that they are especially important in managing co-produced projects since the range of opinions and level of understanding are likely to be wider than in a team of museum insiders. This point was raised by one interviewee, who spoke about the need to liaise not only between the external parties but also with members of the museum's staff (16. Music). It is not sufficient for those managing co-produced project to listen and appreciate different points of view, they must also have another crucial skill. The ability and confidence to make a decision (Dubin, 1999; Govier, 2010) is an important part of managing any collaborate project and this must be combined with excellent communication skills. Those managing a co-produced project need to be able to use their judgement to make decisions and show a degree of leadership. The section below on leadership will expand on this.

The second workforce factor which appeared to have a strong influence on the success of co-production was the attitude of museum staff to this way of

working. In the cases where museum staff embraced co-production, the production process ran more smoothly. In this sample, the most effective examples of collaborative working were seen when all parties recognised the benefits of working together and enjoyed it. It has been suggested that one of the main barriers to greater levels of co-production in museums is a fear that the museum will lose control over the curatorial voice, which will reduce the museums' social authority (McLean & Pollock, 2007 p.8). In these cases, there was little evidence that the participants were afraid of harming the museum's authority, but some interviewees had a stronger preference for working with external parties than others, and, as a consequence, these individuals seemed to put more effort into working with the external parties.

As for the third workforce consideration, i.e. individual and institutional investment in networking, in these cases, personal and professional networks played an important role in identifying and recruiting external parties. In addition, where there were established links between the museum and the external party, the process appeared to run more smoothly, for example in 4. Victorians and 17. Crusades, where the museum and university staff were well known to each other. The implication of this is that there are advantages in developing and maintaining links with individuals and groups with whom the museum would like to work. In practical terms, this probably means two things: first, that investing resources into developing and nurturing connections with potential partners is worthwhile; and second, there is an advantage in having a workforce that reflects the demographic profile of the audience it seeks to serve, reinforcing the importance of workforce diversity (Sandell, 2000).

9.3.6. *Leading co-produced projects*

The research supports the idea that leading co-produced work requires particular forms of leadership (Archer & Cameron, 2009; Govier, 2010; Huxham & Vangen, 2005; Vangen & Huxham, 2003). In the cases studied those managing the exhibitions performed a variety of roles that spanned the traditional division between managers and leaders. There was also evidence that these roles were shared between the team rather than resting with a single 'leader'.

The most effective style of leadership appeared to be one that could articulate the overall aim but be flexible about how it was achieved. Defining the vision is an important task in a co-produced project. This is not about dictating every last detail of how the project should work or what it should produce since, as discussed, co-produced projects need space to evolve. For instance in 11. Hospital, the main external party was the NHS Trust, who had suggested an exhibition at the same time as the museum had mooted the idea of marking the hospital's anniversary with an exhibition. The collections officer responded to their enthusiasm by allowing them to contribute in the way they wanted to, as this quote demonstrates:

'They wanted an exhibition and they were pushing in the end, but, like I say, it worked out well in terms of the collections, with them being able to provide so much towards it.' (Collections Officer, 11. Hospital, p.5)

The relationship and the resulting exhibition were successful because the collections officer was receptive to the needs and desires of the external party.

The leader of a co-produced project must respond to changes as the project develops, and, while flexibility is helpful, abdication of responsibility is not. Successful leaders of co-produced projects know which aspects of a project can be changed and which are non-negotiable. Govier makes a persuasive argument for the importance of those managing co-creative projects in museums having confidence in their own knowledge and expertise (Govier, 2010). The best co-produced projects are not those where all decision making is handed over to external parties, but where those involved work together. The most successful cases in this sample appeared to be those where the exhibition organiser was prepared to reject some of the contributions from the external parties. For example in 12. Design, the learning and outreach support officer talked about not including a piece created by one of the students because it was not up to standard, and how that shocked the rest of the students, but that it was the right thing to do. This decision appeared to be possible because the exhibition organiser had a clear vision for the exhibition and a good relationship with the college tutor. An additional factor may be the nature of the external parties, i.e. students, who had relatively little power in this context.

The key message for those in charge of co-produced exhibitions is that, while they cannot (and should not try to) control all aspects of the project, there are things they can do to make a successful outcome more likely.

9.4. Applying the MVF to museum management

This section looks at what this research might mean for museum management more generally, rather than just in terms of managing co-produced projects,

although because much of what happens in museums involves working with others many of the lessons discussed above are relevant. It builds on the central themes of contingency management, i.e. that the best form of management depends on the organisational context (Scott, 2007; Scott & Meyer, 1994; Woodward, 1965) and of complexity management, i.e. that managers are part of a larger system (Blackman, 2000; Marion & Uhl-Bien, 2003; McKelvey, 2010; Olmedo, 2010; Stacey & Griffin, 2006; Stacey et al., 2000). It discusses how museum managers might use the MVF to understand the context in which they are operating, and then adopt the most appropriate managerial approaches.

9.4.1. Using MVF to analyse the context

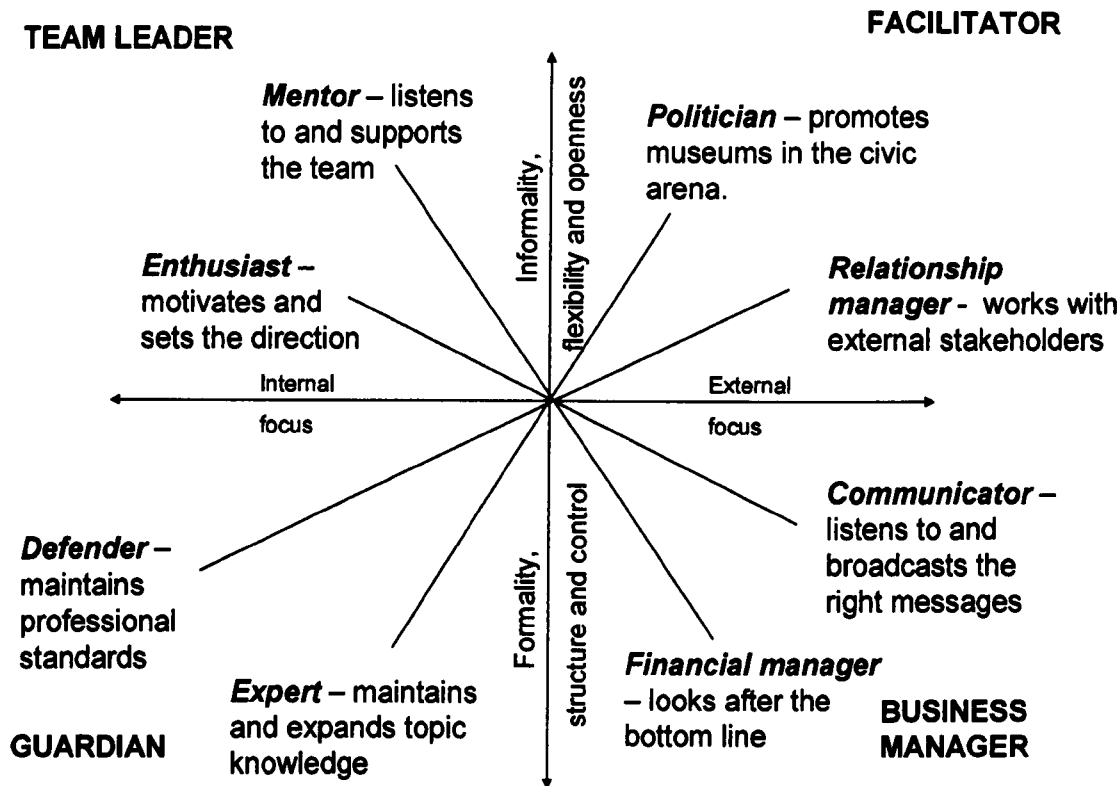
In order to adopt the most effective management approach, a manager must understand the context in which they are operating. This is not a simple task. As discussed at the beginning of this thesis, the current operational context for museum managers is complex, with multiple and, at times, conflicting priorities. In addition, the range of museums, from small volunteer-run venues to international tourist destinations, means managers need to understand the particular museum context as well as the institutional type. Even within a museum, there can be a variety of views about the correct priorities. The MVF could be used to highlight different perspectives, priorities and their interdependence.

9.4.2. Using the MVF to identify different management roles

Building on the MVF and drawing on literature about management roles (Handy, 2009; Quinn 1988; Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981), this section proposes four key roles for museum managers: team leader, guardian, business manager and facilitator. These four roles and their core functions are illustrated in Figure 19. Each role reflects the characteristics of the four operational modes of museums, i.e. club, temple, visitor attraction and forum. As with the modes, the roles are not seen in isolation but in combination. An individual museum manager needs to be able to perform all of these roles in order to be effective. The relative importance of different roles will vary according to the context. Effective managers know when to adapt their management approach to suit the context.

The team leader role is about providing leadership, setting the direction and supporting the people in the team, whether they are staff, volunteers or freelancers. The team leader must articulate the vision or direction of travel, for example by setting strategic aims or project goals. The team leader must also be able to communicate this vision and engender the support of the team. An inherent part of the role involves supporting team members to perform their tasks, but how this is done will depend on the context.

Figure 19: Museum management roles



The role of guardian reflects the traditional features of a museum curator, i.e. caring for the collection, maintaining the knowledge base and defending professional standards. In some situations, this role may consist of resisting change and can be seen as a negative or old-fashioned role. However, the role of guardian is a necessary part of being an effective museum manager. By maintaining the legitimacy of the museum's knowledge and professional standards, the guardian role ensures that the museum's authority is maintained.

As discussed in Chapter 2, museums face increasing demands to generate income and justify their use of public funds. In order to meet these challenges, museum managers need the skills of a business manager. The business manager role is concerned with the financial and operational aspects of a

project, such as setting budgets and targets. These can never be the only role for a museum manager, but they are an essential part of the job in the current context.

The facilitator role has an external focus. It is concerned primarily with managing relationships with external stakeholders, such as funders, local councillors and residents. The aim of the facilitator is to create a favourable image for the museum or project beyond the project team. Facilitators therefore need to be able to see the world through the eyes of others. Relationship management skills are particularly important in the facilitator role.

9.4.3. How these roles are used by museum managers

The key to successful museum management is in how these roles are combined to suit the operational context. All are necessary, but in varying degrees. It is not a matter of either / or but of melding the various roles and styles in different proportions to suit the situation and task in hand. This requires the manager to embrace, what appear to be, competing values in a holistic manner and it is this ability to flex and adapt is what creates an effective or 'master manager' (Quinn 1988). In the whirlwind of values the museum manager must accept and acknowledge the conflicting demands but should be able to adapt and respond as necessary in order to guide the project forward.

In the cases studied, those leading the exhibitions used different combinations of these roles. In 19. Land Girls, the curator of exhibitions appeared to be adept at using a range of management approaches. At some points in the production of the exhibition, she operated primarily as a business manager, using formal

and structured techniques, for instance clearly identifying the target audience and monitoring the visitor profile. At other points, she adopted team leader and facilitator roles, for instance in the way she managed the freelance curator and negotiated the different demands of the internal team.

In some of the cases, these roles were spread between members of the exhibition team. For example in 7. Iran, the project manager performed the business manager role, the curator performed the guardian role, while the team leader and facilitator roles were shared. There are management jobs in museums that tend to use a limited number of these roles. For instance a community liaison officer is likely to operate as a facilitator/team leader for most of the time, but if they cannot also perform as a guardian or a business manager when the need arises, their overall performance will be impaired.

9.5. Contribution, limitations and further research

The research makes a contribution in a number of ways, both by confirming the findings of others and by proposing new theory. There are, of course, limitations to this research, and it is important to acknowledge these. Perhaps, inevitably, this research has identified a number of areas worthy of further research.

9.5.1. Contribution to the academic literature

As this research spanned co-production, project management and museums management, so too does its contribution. This research fills a gap in the

literature by confirming that much of what has been written about managing and leading collaborative projects holds true in a museum context. It agrees with much of the existing literature on the pre-requisites for successful co-production, i.e. having a clear vision, maintaining a degree of flexibility, high levels of mutual trust, a commitment to the co-production process, and shared understanding of the respective roles and responsibilities reinforced with supportive leadership (Archer & Cameron, 2009; Barnes et al., 2006; Brinkerhoff, 2002; Ostrom et al., 1982; The Scottish Government, 2004).

In addition to confirming the findings of other research, it has built on existing co-production and exhibition literature by proposing a typology of co-production in museums. The typology of co-initiation, co-design, co-delivery and co-management combines work on co-production and on exhibition making and has the potential to analyse other co-production activities in museums.

Another methodological contribution is the adaptation of the Competing Values Framework (Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981) and the creation of the Museum Values Framework (MVF). The MVF allows the tensions in museums to be made more visible and, in doing so, more readily understood. This may provide a useful tool to improve our understanding of the competing challenges facing museum managers. The MVF contributes to both museum management literature and organisational theory.

9.5.2. *Contribution to museum practice*

The first lesson museum managers should take from this research is that there are ways of encouraging successful co-production in museums. While some of these apply to co-production in any setting, for instance the importance of a shared vision, trusting relationships, the motivation to make it work and sufficient resources, there are some that appear to be particularly relevant for museums in Britain today. These include the need to remove anxieties about working with external parties. Those managing co-produced projects may need to develop relevant skills and knowledge, such as negotiating and facilitation skills, to complement their knowledge of, for example, ancient history and the ability to write engaging exhibition text. The research also highlighted the importance of networks in identifying potential external parties. The implication for museum practice is that there are clear advantages in having a workforce that reflects the community it seeks to serve, and there is a real value in maintaining constructive working relationships with a range of external parties. Co-production may be an appropriate tool for some museum projects, but it is unlikely to be the best tool for everything museums want to achieve.

A wider contribution to museum practice is the MVF as a tool to help museum practitioners to understand the competing tensions they face. The different values in museums are often unarticulated, leaving museum managers to stumble through a forest of expectations and assumptions. Recognising the different values present in museums helps our understanding of the different discourses that exist in a single organisation, e.g. various professional communities, funders, trustees etc. There appear to be some deep-rooted

differences in perceptions about both what museums are for and the best way to run them. To operate effectively, museum managers need to recognise and understand these differences.

This analysis helps us to discuss what museums are for, both individually and collectively. Doing so may also help to identify better ways of working, in terms of management style and delivery mechanisms. The MVF offers an analytic tool to help think through tensions in museums and navigate the most appropriate route through them. It could be used at different levels within the museum, for instance at a project level to build agreement about the aims and help identify the most appropriate methods and/or at a strategic level to map organisational culture and plan changes. The attempt to describe these tensions and, in particular, to outline the mixture of organisational types within museums and the most appropriate combination of roles needed to manage these situations may be a useful step forward.

9.5.3. *Limitations*

As outlined earlier (in Chapter 5), there are limitations to the chosen methodology. The exploratory nature of the research and the small sample size mean that the generalisability of the findings is limited. More research could generate more evidence to support, or qualify, both the patterns that emerged from the data and the theories I developed based on the case studies. However, given the starting point, the methodology was entirely appropriate, and the advantages of grounded theory, theoretical sampling and multiple case studies outweighed the disadvantages.

A more fundamental limitation relates to the application of the MVF. The MVF may be more useful in understanding past events than helping museum managers to predict or guide future events. Even if it proves to be a useful analytic tool in retrospect, the complex and ever-changing combination of value profiles limits the MVF's practical application as a management tool going forward. It may help managers to understand the lie of the land, but it can never provide a detailed route map.

9.5.4. Areas for further research

There are ample opportunities to build on this research, both in terms of testing out the findings of this research and exploring some of the issues touched on by this research but which were beyond its scope. Further investigation into the pattern of co-production in museums would be welcomed. It may be that, despite my best efforts, I have come to conclusions that are less than accurate. It is possible that another 20 case studies would reveal a different pattern of involvement. Of course, since the context is constantly changing, it would be impossible to compare like with like, but another sample would strengthen (or disprove) my observations. In regard to the values and organisational culture of museums, it would be interesting to see whether the theoretical proposals made in this thesis, specifically the MVF, are supported in the field.

It would also be interesting to refine the MVF. Since it appears that agents operate across a range of modes, one fruitful area would be to develop ways of breaking down value profiles in more detail, so as to give a more accurate picture of individual cases. There is also scope to adapt surveys that have

already been used in non-museum environments, e.g. Quinn's leadership instrument (Quinn 1988) or the survey used to identify the contextual influences shaping organisational culture (Buenger et al., 1996). The MVF could be used to explore different areas of museum work, such as strategic planning. It would be interesting to see how it could be used to identify the various perspectives of different museum stakeholders.

This research mentioned the outputs and outcomes of co-production, but the focus was on the process of co-production. More work to explore the impact of co-production on the final product and/or on the various parties involved would be interesting. This would expand our knowledge and build on existing work, e.g. on the impact of co-production on visitor responses to exhibitions (Anderson & Krmpotich, 2005). The nature of the external parties involved in co-production is another area that could be further explored. The division between professional providers and service users, found in the literature and applied in this research, appears inadequate, at least in some cases. This research has touched on the lack of clarity between producers and consumers and between insiders and outsiders, especially in volunteer-run museums. As co-production evolves, this may be an area for future investigation. Another area for further research is how ideas from external parties become part of the museum's organisational culture and community of practice. This might be done by exploring some well-established examples of co-production practice, e.g. where people from other fields, such as trustees, contribute to the museum.

9.6. Conclusion

Co-production is not a new concept. Museums have a long tradition of working with external parties to create exhibitions, but recent changes have resulted in new types of co-production, notably with the public rather than with other professionals and experts. Discussions about co-production raise much bigger questions about the nature and role of museums in the 21st century than this thesis was able to explore. It is possible that museums have only begun to scratch the surface of participation culture and that, conceivably, museums will need to make still greater changes to maintain their relevance; in doing so, co-production may have an important role to play.

Co-production is not about museums abdicating their expert knowledge or responsibility. It is about working with individuals and groups outside the formal museum organisation to create something new, potentially something better than could be produced in-house. Done well, it should benefit everyone involved, but it does require appropriate management and leadership.

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11. Appendices

11.1. A1 – Outline of the interview structure

This early example, from November 2008, shows the topics and proposed structure of the interviews with museum staff involved in creating exhibitions, the actual questions may vary depending on how the conversation goes.

Introductions and ethical permissions etc.	Settling in
Specific exhibition Tell me how Came about? Conception of exhibition Where did the idea for come from? Who's idea was it? Aims What were the aims of this exhibition?	Open unstructured questions
Process / Delivery / Putting it together What stages did it go through? Planning, design, narrative, object selection, writing text & labels, building, opening etc. Resources Tell me about the resources you had for it – budget, staff etc? Where did the funding come from? Any external grants? Timetable How long was it from the initial planning to the exhibition opening?	Process
Exhibition team Who was involved in putting together? Who did what? How were roles allocated? Did you involve people from outside the museum staff? Why did you do that? Did you use any local networks? Did you use any professional networks?	Personnel
About the participant How long have you worked at this museum? How long have you been working in the museum sector? Where did you work before? Have you been involved in projects that have involved the public or community groups before? What do you think museums are for?	Personnel
About the Museum How does this exhibition fit in with the rest of the museum's work? How is the exhibition programme planned? Are there any planning or policy documents on exhibitions? How important were they in creating this exhibition? What are the priorities for this museum?	Organisational culture
Thank you and next steps	Wind up.

11.2. A2 – Letter sent to participants before the interview

Sent on OU headed paper to confirm the arrangements.

Research Interview – 11am, Thursday 11th June 2009

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed for my PhD research about the production of temporary exhibitions. The interview will take place at the Xxxxxxx Museum on 11th June. I hope this letter covers everything you need to know but if you have any questions please ask me.

What I am doing

My research focuses on how museum exhibitions are created and I am particularly interested in the involvement of external parties, such as outside experts and community groups. I am exploring a range of exhibitions in different kinds of museums and I have already carried out a number of interviews. I have attached an outline of the questions I will be asking. The only personal details I will ask for are about your career history and your age. I plan to record the interview so I can type up a transcript. I will send you a copy of the transcript so you can check it for factual errors.

How I will use the information

I will use the information from the interviews to develop my thesis. I may use some quotes from individual interviews to illustrate a point but the main purpose is to identify themes from the interviews as a whole. I may publish elements of the research in an academic journal or present the work at a conference.

Confidentiality

I will not use your name when I write up this work. I would like to use your job title and descriptions of the exhibition and museum. This will give you a degree of anonymity but it might give enough clues for an interested party to identify you. If there is anything that you say which you would like to be anonymised I can do this by removing all contextual clues, or, if you prefer by excluding it from the research. You can tell me this is what you would like either at the interview or when you are checking the transcript.

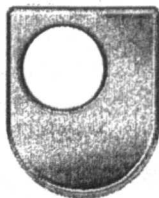
Consent

Most participants find taking part in research like this interesting and enjoyable. However, if at any point in the interview you are not happy to continue, you are free to withdraw and/or to ask that whatever data you have provided not be used. Obviously I very much hope that you will enjoy the experience, but I wanted to make it clear at the outset that your participation is entirely voluntary and I am very grateful for your help in this project. I look forward to meeting you.

Yours sincerely

Sue Davies
Research Student,
Email – S.M.Davies@open.ac.uk

11.3. A3 – Consent form



Consent Form - Temporary museum exhibitions

I,, agree to take part in this research project.

- I have had the purposes of the research explained to me.
- I have been informed that I may refuse to participate at any point by simply saying so.
- I understand that I will be shown a transcript of the interview and given the opportunity to correct factual errors and to check for sensitive information. At this point I will be able to ask for sections of the transcript to be removed or kept confidential.
- Having checked the transcript I agree that the information that I provide can be used for educational and research purposes, including publication. I understand that parts of what I say may be quoted by the researcher and that what I say may be attributed to me by name.

If I have any concerns about the research I can contact;

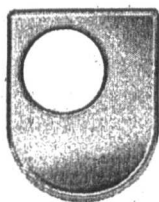
Sue Davies, Researcher – S.M.Davies@open.ac.uk or

Dr Terry O'Sullivan, Supervisor – T.J.Osullivan@open.ac.uk or by post at,

Open University Business School, Walton Hall, Milton Keynes, MK7 6AA

Signed Date

11.4. A4 – Approval from OU ethics committee



From John Oates
Chair, The Open University Human Participants and
Materials Research Ethics Committee
Research School
Email j.m.oates@open.ac.uk
Extension 52395

To Sue Davies, OUBS, research student

Subject Decision making around the creation of museum
exhibitions

Ref HPMEC/2008/#497/1

Date 14 November 2008

Memorandum

This memorandum is to confirm that the research protocol for the above-named research project, as submitted on 22nd October 2008, is approved by the Open University Human Participants and Materials Ethics Committee, subject to satisfactory response to the following:

You are asked to:

1. Confirm the total number of participants from whom you plan to collect data; this is not clear from the proforma that you have submitted.

At the conclusion of your project, by the date that you stated in your application, the Committee would like to receive a summary report on the progress of this project, any ethical issues that have arisen and how they have been dealt with.

John Oates

Chair, OU HPMEC

11.5. A5 – Details of interviewees

Case	Title of interviewee	Gender	Age
1. School	Curator	Female	34
2. Crime	Assistant Curator	Female	40
3. Quilts	Curator of Textiles	Female	In her 50s?
4. Victorian	University English Lecturer	Female	In her 40s?
5. War and Migration	Exhibition Manager	Female	In her 40s?
6. Iron Age	Deputy Director	Male	In his 50s?
7. Iran	Curator of Islamic Collections, and	Female	In her 50s?
	Project Manager	Female	32
	Interpretation Officer	Male	27
8. Buildings	Heritage and Education Officer	Male	57
9. Military Women	Curator of Documents (paid museum staff)	Female	35
10. Landscape Prints	Printmaker (volunteer)	Female	22
	Designer (paid museum staff)	Male	56
11. Hospital	Collections Officer	Female	34
12. Design	Learning and Outreach Support Officer	Male	31
13. Pilots, WW2	Chairman (volunteer)	Male	61
	Volunteer	Female	64
14. Farming	Honorary Curator (volunteer)	Male	61
15. Graphic Art	Managing Curator	Male	35
	Volunteer	Female	57
16. Music	Assistant Exhibition Officer	Male	34
	Curator of Contemporary Life	Male	38
17. Crusades	Curator of Medieval and Later Archaeology	Male	55
18. Horses	Curator / Acting Director	Male	47
19. Land Girls	Curator of Exhibitions	Female	28
	Freelance Curator	Female	47
20. Guides	Museum and Gallery Assistant	Female	49
	Volunteer / Assistant Guider	Female	39

11.6. A6 – Summary of data base analysis

A database was created using the 2009 Museums Yearbook (Museums Association, 2009) and a database provided by the Museums Libraries and Archives Council (MLA, 2009). This was done to get a clearer picture of the pattern of museum provision in Britain in the absence of an existing reliable source. The database was used to inform the selection of the later case studies.

There was considerable discrepancy between the sources used to create the database. The organisations listed in the Museums Yearbook are self selected. It does not include all museums but does include a number of museum-like bodies, such as temporary exhibition spaces and art galleries without collections. The number of entries is further inflated by listing museums services separately from the individual museum venues they are responsible for. On the other hand, the MLA list of accredited museums, lists only the 1,807 museums participating in the accreditation / registration scheme excluding a number of organisations which might fit the definition of a museum but, for whatever reason, do not participate in the scheme. To overcome the partial nature of the lists I combined the data and cross checked it with other sources, such as the Charity Commission's Register and the museum's own websites, in order to create a database of 2,728 museums.

Appendix 6 Table 1 - Summary of the main findings

Area of analysis	Key Findings
Geographical location	There are more museums in England than in Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland, the Isle of Mann and the Channel Islands combined (2,087 compared to 641).
Governance type	Museums have a variety of organisational arrangements. Out of the 2,728 museums in the database most (1,610 / 59%) were independent museums, i.e. run as charities or private museums. The second largest governance type was local authority museums (826 / 30%). Few museums are run as nationals (66 / 2%).
Visitor numbers	This information was not available for all museums in the database. Of the 1,717 museums where information was available 1,301 (76%) attract few than 50,000 visitors a year (1,301 out of 1,717). Only 13 (1%) museums in this sample attracted more than one million visitors a year but just under a third of all visits made to these 13 museums (out of the 119,730,133 visits to 1,717 museums 33,591,073 were to the top 13 = 28%).
Collection Type	Using the data available this was the most difficult category to compile. However, it appears that while some museums specialise in art or military collections the largest single category of collection type is mixed, encompassing art, archaeology and social history (985 out of 2,728 or 36%).

A6 - continued

Breakdown of sample

Although the theoretical sampling technique used did not seek to produce a representative reflection of the museum sector in Britain it is interesting to see how the range of cases compares with the national pattern. Comparisons have been made in terms of geographical spread, governance type and museum size (based on visitor numbers).

Geographical spread

The 20 cases came from museums based in England, Wales and Scotland Northern Ireland was not included in the research. There was a reasonable reflection of the number of museums in these three home countries, although Scottish museums were slightly underrepresented and Welsh museums overrepresented. The cases from England were collected from across the country with a slight bias towards the South and East of England and London.

Appendix 6 Table 2 - Geographical spread of case studies compared to national pattern

Country / Region	Number of museums in this area (%)	In the sample of 20 case studies
England	2,087 (77%)	15 (75%)
Scotland	399 (15%)	2 (10%)
Wales	139 (5%)	3 (15%)
Northern Ireland	69 (3%)	0
Other (Channel Isles and Isle of Man)	34 (1%)	0
Total	2,728 (100%)	20 (100%)

Governance type

Despite eight case studies being drawn from independent museums this type of museum is underrepresented in the sample. University museums are slightly overrepresented. National Museums are over represented but this includes two cases from the National Museum of Wales as well as two cases from National museums in London.

Appendix 6 Table 3 - Governance type of museums from which the case studies were drawn compared with national pattern

Governance type	Number of museums in this category	20 cases in this sample
Independent (charities (including National Trust and National Trust for Scotland), private, company, police authorities, NHS trusts, churches and armed services)	1,610 (59%)	8 (40%)
Local Authorities	826 (30%)	6 (30%)
Universities	139 (5%)	2 (10%)
Nationals and their branches	66 (2%)	4 (20%)
Government Agencies, e.g. English Heritage and Historic Scotland	50 (2%)	0
Mixed governance / partnerships	23 (1%)	0
Unknown	14 (1%)	-
Total	2,728	20 (100%)

Museum size based on visitor numbers.

The annual visitor numbers of a museum is a common way of understanding the size of a museum. Data on visitor numbers was only available for 1,717 of the museums so the total sample for this category is smaller than for geographical location or governance type. Larger museums are overrepresented in this sample.

Appendix 6 Table 4 - visitor numbers of the host museums

Number of visitors per year	Number of museums in this category	In this sample
Very small Up to 10,000	643 (37%)	3 (15%)
Small 10,001 to 50,000	658 (38%)	9 (45%)
Medium 50,001 – 250,000	327 (19%)	3 (15%)
Large 250,001 – 1 million	76 (4%)	4 (20%)
Very large Over 1 million	13 (0%)	1 (5%)
Totals of museums where data is available	1,717(100%)	20 (100%)

11.7 A7- Table of the full cases in the order they were collected

Exhibition	Type of Museum (annual visitor numbers)	Date collected	Type of exhibition, space, duration and budget.	Geographical location	Nature of the data collected
1. School	Independent charity. Professional town Museum. (30,000)	Nov 08	Local educational history. Budget £400. Approx. 29 m2. Ran for 21 weeks.	East of England	Interview with Curator. Supplemented with photos and text.
2. Crime	Independent charity. Professional town museum. (30,000)	Nov 08	Crime and punishment in the local area. Approx. 29 m2. Ran for 12 weeks.	East of England	Visited exhibition. Took photographs. Interview with Assistant Curator.
3. Quilts	Recently become an independent charity but retains strong links to LA. (82,792)	Nov 08	Textiles / art. Budget £6,000. Approx. 250m2. Ran for 16 weeks.	East of England	Visited exhibition. Took photos. Interview with Curator of Textiles.
4. Victorian , From F to E	University. Teaching museum. (20,000)	Nov 08	Science / Literature. Budget £500. Approx. 10 m2. Ran for five weeks.	North East Scotland	Interview with University lecturer who lead the exhibition. PowerPoint slides of displays.
5. Migration, W to W	National. International Superstar (760,000)	Dec 08	Military / Black History. Budget of around £75,000. Approx. 72m2. Ran for 72 weeks (Extended from 42 weeks)	London	Visited exhibition. Interview with Exhibition Manager. Exhibition brief.
6. Iron Age LM	University. Large, ambitious to be ground breaking (240,000)	March 09	Iron Age Archaeology. Budget between £140,000 and £200,000. Approx. 166m2. Ran for 52 weeks. Key item on loan.	North West of England	Visited exhibition. Interview with Deputy Director. Publicity material. Minutes of consultation meeting.

A7 – continued

7. Iran	National. International Superstar (5.5 million)	May / June 09	16 th and early 17 th century Iranian history and decorative art. Budget undisclosed but very substantial. More than 1,000 m2. Ran for 16 weeks.	London	Visited exhibition. Three interviews with; Curator of Islamic Collections, Project Manager and Interpretation Officer. Press releases. Exhibition publicity. Museum's annual report. Book associated with the exhibition.
8. Buildings	Local Authority. Town museum. (8,900)	June 09	Photographs of local architectural history. Budget £200. Approx. 35m2. Ran for 8 weeks.	East of England	Visited exhibition. Took photographs. Interview with Heritage and Education Officer. Publicity material.
9. Military Women W in A	Independent charity. Large military museum. (270,000)	June 09	Military history / Women's history. Budget £2,000. Approx. 28m2. Ran for 34 weeks	London	Visited exhibition. Took photos Interview with Curator of Documents. Leaflets. Online material.
10. Landscape Prints	Local Authority Professional town museum / civic pride. (34,575)	August 09	Contemporary art inspired by historic art. Budget less than £1,500. Approx. 61 m2. Ran for 4 weeks.	West Wales	Visited exhibition. Took photographs. Interview with one of the printmakers. Further information from the museum designer via email. Publicity material. Exhibition booklet.
11. Hospital	Local Authority Town museum / civic pride (35,000)	August / Sept 09	History of a local hospital. Budget less than £100. Approx 12 m2. Ran for 11 weeks	East Midlands, England	Visited exhibition. Took photos. Interview with member of staff. Interview with Collections Officer.

A7 – continued

12. Design	Local Authority A historic house museum. (18,385)	August / Sept 09	An exhibition of contemporary work by local students using 200 year old objects for inspiration. Budget £1,500 Approx 85m2. Ran for 30 weeks.	West Midlands, England	Visited exhibition. Took photos. Interview with the Learning and Outreach Support Officer. Related documents – staff briefing note, brief given to the students and week by week record of what the museum staff did three months prior to the exhibition opening.
13. World War Two, Pilots	Independent charity. Volunteer run town museum. (8,000 in yearbook. 25,000 verbally)	Sept 09	Photographic display about Polish Airman during the Second World War. Based on a new local history book. Budget □pprox. £10. Approx. 5m2. Ran for 6-8 weeks.	East Midlands, England	Visited exhibition. Interview with Chairman of Trustees and a volunteer who works on exhibitions. Photographs.
14. Farming	Independent charity. Volunteer run village museum (2,700 in year book verbally 3,500)	Sept 09	The changes in farming practices in the local area over the past 250 years. Budget less than £50. Approx 6 m2. Ran for one year.	East of England	Visited exhibition. Took photographs. Interview with Hon. Curator. Booklet about the museum.

A7 – continued

15. Graphic Art	Independent charity. Volunteer run. (7,561)	Sept / Oct 09	Prints by an artist (1920-1996) who set up a press in the local area during the 1950s. The artist was originally from America and later lived in Wales. Budget less than £100. Approx. 34m2. Ran for 19 weeks.	East of England	Visited twice. No photos. Interview with the Managing Curator and the Volunteer who organized the exhibition. Annual report.
16. Music	Branch of National Museum (674,678) Open air museum	Oct 09	The Welsh music scene put together with six guest curators and their collections. Budget less than £10,000. Approx 53m2. Ran for 23 weeks.	South Wales	Visited. Took photographs. Interview with Curator of Contemporary Life and with the Assistant Exhibition Officer. Minutes from the first exhibition team meeting. Article written by the Curator about the exhibition. Strategic vision document.
17. Crusades	National Museum (353,509)	Oct / Nov 09	Explored aspects of early Medieval (1066-1400) crusades from a Welsh Perspective. Manuscripts Changing space within a more permanent gallery. Budget £6,500 Approx 27m2. Ran for 31 weeks	South Wales	Visited. Met Curator of Medieval and Later Archaeology who was later interviewed by phone. Strategic vision document.

A7 – continued

18. Horses	Independent (11,000 to 12,000) ¹	Nov 09	The history of an auction house dealing in Thoroughbred race horses. Budget £10,000 Approx. 43m2. Ran for 29 weeks.	Eastern England	Visited. Interview with Curator / Acting Director
19. Land Girls (WWII)	Local Authority (215,963)	Nov 09 – February 10	Land girls in the Second World War. Budget £40,000 + 300m2 Ran for 23 weeks	South East, England	Visited. Took photographs. Accompanying book. Interviews with Exhibition Curator and the freelance curator
20. Guides	Local Authority (11,200)	February 10	Celebrating a centenary of Girl Guiding. Budget was around £200. Approx. 58m2. Ran for 15 weeks	Scottish Boarders	Visited. Took photographs. Double interview with the Museums and Galleries Assistant and the Assistant Guider of the local Gide unit.

¹ From email 4th Nov 09 from Curator / acting director

11.8 A8 – Table of visits / shallow case studies

Exhibition at Museum	Date	Type of Museum and (annual visitor numbers)	Type of exhibition and indication of external involvement	Geographical location	Nature of data collected
A. Utsavam	Oct. 08	Independent (282,856)	Indian music. Close working relationship with UK based organisations concerned with the preservation and promotion of traditional Indian music. Audio visual record of instruments being played in India made in collaboration with the British Library.	London	Visited and took photos.
B. Hello Sailor! Gay Life on the Ocean Wave	Nov. 08	National Maritime Museum (678,512)	Gay culture. Oral history suggests involvement of local gay community.	Northern England	Visited and took photos.
C. Taking Liberties: The Struggle for Britain's Freedoms and Rights	Dec 08	National Archive (450,000)	Archives. Created by guest curator a British academic working in the USA (Linda Colley). Visitors were invited to participate by voting on various questions in the exhibition and the results were displayed the end.	London	Visited twice. Exhibition leaflet.
D. Golden Jubilee of St James Music and Drama Society	Dec 08	Independent (7,561)	Small exhibition about a local dramatic society. It appeared to have been made by the society.	Southern England	Visited.
E. Byzantium	Feb 09	Independent Royal Academy (970,000)	Blockbuster exhibition of art and history of the Byzantium Empire. International loans.	London	Visited, press reviews.

A8 - continued

Exhibition at Museum	Date	Type of Museum and (annual visitor numbers)	Type of exhibition and indication of external involvement.	Geographical location	Nature of data collected
F. Minis	March 09	Independent Motor Museum (130,000)	Celebrating 50 years of the Mini motor car.	Midlands	Visited.
G. Labelled	May 09	Local Authority (40,511)	Art installation. An artist in residence (Dail Behennah) was invited to respond to the museum's collections. She created an installation of enamel labels.	South West England	Visited museum to see the installation, collected leaflet and material from the website.
H. Baroque: Style in the Age of Magnificence	July 09	National (2.6 million)	Baroque art and design. International loans.	London	Visited and collected exhibition guide.
I. Endless Forms: Darwin, Natural Science and the Visual Arts	August 09	University (279,587)	The interconnection between the development of Darwinian ideas and visual art of the time. Lots of the items on display were on loan from other institutions.	Cambridge, East of England	Visited, exhibition guide and press reviews.
J. Connect Through Art	August 09	Local Authority (628,857)	Art and mental health. Held in the museum's Community Gallery.	Birmingham, Midlands	Visited and took photographs.
K. Photographic exhibition	Oct 09	Local Authority	The local camera club.	Watford	Visited and collected leaflets.
L. Inspired by Stonehenge	Nov 09	Local Authority	Souvenirs from Stonehenge. Exhibition was created by Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museums and was touring. Borrowed items and oral history.	Swindon, South West	Visited and bought the book.

A8 - continued

Exhibition at Museum	Date	Type of Museum and (annual visitor numbers)	Type of exhibition and indication of external involvement	Geographical location	Nature of data collected
M. The Making of the Ashmolean	Dec 09	University (380,000)	Construction of the extension. Material from the architects and construction team. A resident artist had made drawings of the process and many of the people involved.	Oxford	Visited and took photographs
N. More than Two Tones	Dec 09	Local Authority (55,594)	20 th century music in the town. Borrowed objects and memories. Elsewhere in the museum there was evidence of community input.	Coventry, Midlands	Visited
O. Village Voices	Jan 10	University (11,000)	Photographs, oral history with a few objects. Organised with a village society and involving around 60 individuals.	Reading,	Visited and took photographs.
P. Votes for Women	Feb 10	Local Authority (52,836)	Suffragette movement in Scotland. One gallery. A women's history group had created the film and students from the local high school had made jewellery using the suffragette colours.	Edinburgh	Visited and took photographs
Q. The Real Sherlock Holmes	Feb 10	University (15,000)	Conan Doyle and medical influences. Long list of external parties thanked including other museums, archives and libraries in the UK and abroad.	Edinburgh	Visited
R. Shh...it's a Secret	Feb 10	Independent (300,000)	Two galleries with around 12-15 objects chosen by local school children.	London	Visited. Read on-line report about how the museum had worked with the pupils.

11.9. A9 – Sense checking conversations, July 2009

These focused on the reasons why museums involved external parties and the various operational models for different museums.

Name and title	Description of institution	Date of interview
Ken Arnold, Head of Public Programming	The Wellcome Trust, London Charity	7 th July 2009
Xerxes Mazda, Head of Learning and Audiences	The British Museum, London. Large National	27 th July 2009

11.10. A10 – Sense checking conversations, September and October 2010

These focused on the use and application of the Museum Values Framework (MVF) to describe the various pressures museum managers face.

Name and title	Description of institution	Date of interview
Maggie Appleton, Chief Executive Officer	Luton Culture Charity delivering cultural services for the local authority in Luton	9 th September 2010
Jo Ward, Museums and Arts Officer	Stevenage Borough Council.	12 th October 2010
Mark Jones, Director	The Victoria and Albert Museum, London Large National	14 th October 2010

11.11. A11 – Table showing the four types of co-production in the 20 case studies

Case study	Co-initiating	Co-managing	Co-designing	Co-delivery
1. School	Yes - in response to visitor comments	No	Some	Yes - lots of contributions from ex-pupils and school. Oral history, objects on loan, etc.
2. Crime	No	No	No	Yes - items borrowed from private and public collections
3. Quilts	No - curator's idea	No	No	Yes - local and national quilting groups. Objects from a private collection
4. Victorian	Yes - dinner party chat	Blurred - English Lecturer in charge. Museum staff acted as consultants.	Blurred - English Lecturer and students.	Blurred - English Lecturer and students did it with support from museum.
5. War and Migration	No - internal idea to develop a new audience.	No	Blurred - Focus groups and advisory panels helping to shape the brief.	Objects borrowed from private individuals
6. Iron Age	Some - discussions with national collection, the source of the key object.	No	Blurred - Consultation group used to shape the brief. Yes - external design team (audio visual designers, graphics etc). Formative evaluation.	Yes - external designers and key object on loan from a national collection.
7. Iran	No	No		Yes - lots of borrowed objects from international collections and private individuals

A-11 continued

8. Buildings	Yes - in response to friends organisation	No	No	Some - external photographer copied photos
9. Military Women	Yes - in response to visitors' comments	No	Some - input from external graphic designers	No
10. Landscape	Some. It was the museum designer's idea but he shared it early on with the printmaking group, of which he was a member	No	Yes - Artists framed images. Booklet design by art school teacher. Museum staff (the designer) had the final say	Yes - 19 artists creating new work specifically, loans from national collections, university lecturers wrote part of guide, landscape trust
11. Hospital	Yes - NHS hospital trust suggested it to museum	No	No	Yes - material lent by NHS hospital trust
12. Design	Yes - followed on from a project with same tutor / college	Yes - close collaboration with college tutor over timings etc. Shared resources.	Some - students contributed material for display and text boards but museum staff agreed and arranged.	Blurred - Lots from college tutor and students
13. Pilots	Blurred - local woman & regular visitor suggested the material from her book	No	Some - design left to museum volunteer but there were discussions about how	Yes - Vast majority of images and information came from the local author. They were printed and mounted by museum volunteers
14. Farming	Blurred - A volunteer suggested it to the Hon. Curator	Blurred - volunteer and Hon. Curator working together	Blurred - volunteer and Hon. Curator working together	Blurred - volunteer and Hon. Curator working together

A11 – continued

15. Graphic Art	Blurred - assuming the volunteer is external	Blurred- jointly managed by the part-time / paid Managing Curator and one volunteer	Blurred - jointly by Managing Curator and one volunteer	Yes - Managing Curator, volunteers and others
16. Music	No - it was an internal idea	No	Some - design team was in house but ideas discussed with guest curators?	Yes – guest curators provided material and text.
17. Crusades	Yes - the curator and academics discussed ideas over a meal	No	Some - in house design but concept and approach was discussed with academics	Yes - university academics wrote some of the text. Borrowed items from national collection.
18. Horses	No - museum approached the sponsor	No	Some - mostly in-house but an external graphic designer was used.	Yes - sponsor provided money and the bulk of the objects on display. Also some contribution to the text.
19. Land Girls	Yes - freelance curator approached the museum with a proposal	Some - mostly in house but with reference to the freelance curator	Yes - freelance curator involved in the initial design concept and subsequent development.	Yes - lots. Freelance curator. Borrowed objects. Ex-land girls. Local school.
20. Guides	Some	No	Yes - with Assistant guider	Yes - with Assistant Guider, Girl Guides and Trefoil Guild

11.12. **A12 - A list of the external parties in each case**

Case	External parties involved in the production of the exhibition
1. School	<p>Ex- pupils</p> <p>The school's library and museum</p> <p>Ex-employees at the school including, teachers, at least one headmistress and one caretaker.</p> <p>An oral history group</p> <p>A local historian</p> <p>Museum volunteers</p> <p>Art student on placement</p>
2. Crime	<p>A local police collection</p> <p>The local county archives</p> <p>A local carpenter</p> <p>A neighbouring museum</p>
3. Quilts	<p>Local quilters / textile artists</p> <p>National Quilting group</p> <p>Private collector / expert on quilts</p>
4. Victorian	<p>University English lecturer</p> <p>Undergraduate students</p> <p>Hon. Curators on the university staff, i.e. they teach or research at the university and they also have some responsibility for part of the collection.</p>
5. War and Migration	<p>A steering group made up of external experts who were paid a nominal amount</p> <p>Local residents with West Indian heritage</p> <p>Historians</p> <p>Freelance writer – a specialist in Black history and with Jamaican heritage</p> <p>Freelance researcher</p> <p>Local faith groups</p> <p>A Christian radio station</p>
6. Iron Age	<p>A large consultation group which included, university staff</p> <p>Representatives from the City Council, local residents and Pagans.</p> <p>Key object borrowed from the British Museum</p> <p>Professional exhibition designers</p> <p>External funding from various sources including the Heritage Lottery Fund and the Wellcome Trust.</p>

A 12 - continued

7. Iran	<p>The National Museum of Iran</p> <p>Other Iranian museums</p> <p>External consultants working with focus groups to test the understanding of the potential audience.</p> <p>Volunteers translating Persian</p> <p>External 3D designers and AV designers</p> <p>University academics - Professor of architecture at Yale and Professor of Arabic studies in a British University.</p> <p>External builders</p> <p>Private collectors – lending objects</p> <p>External funding from various sources including the Iranian Heritage Foundation and the Arts and Humanities Research Council.</p>
8. Buildings	<p>Early input / development with volunteer friends group.</p> <p>Professional photographer to copy photographs.</p>
9. Military Women W in A	<p>Exhibition was developed in response to suggestions from the visiting public.</p> <p>Informal discussions with family and friends.</p> <p>External printer</p> <p>Once exhibition opened there was more external input – on line contributions.</p>
10. Landscape Prints	<p>19 Printmakers / town's printmaking group</p> <p>Head of department – University College Aberystwyth School of Art</p> <p>Welsh National Library – lent objects</p> <p>Artist / painter / writer</p> <p>External funding from the charity which cares for the landscape.</p>
11. Hospital	<p>NHS hospital trust – their archive</p>
12. Design	<p>Friend – mentor at the college</p> <p>College staff – tutor, group tutor and head of school. The college gave in kind support by funding trips and providing materials.</p> <p>12 college students -16-19 year olds</p> <p>External graphic designer (who they use regularly)</p>
13. World War Two, Pilots	<p>Regular volunteers</p> <p>A local historian and writer</p>
14. Farming	<p>A volunteer with a particular interest in the history of farming in the local area.</p>

A12 - continued

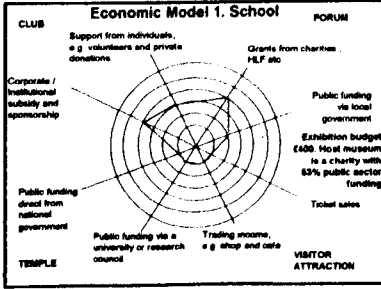
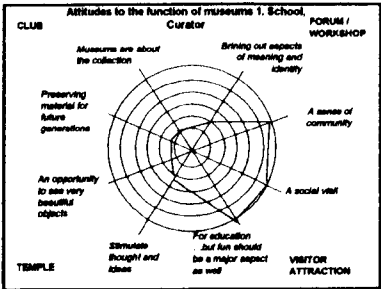
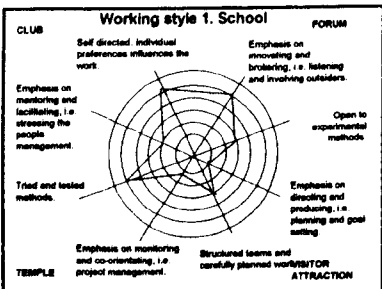
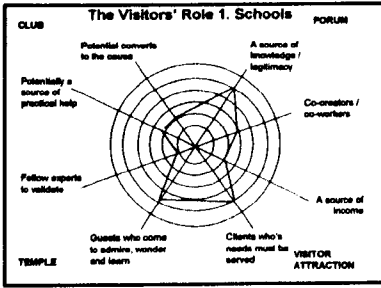
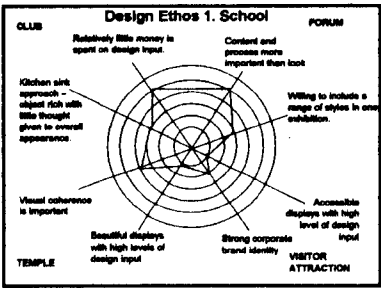
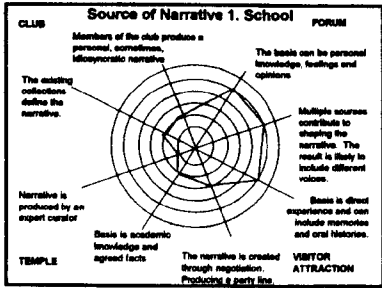
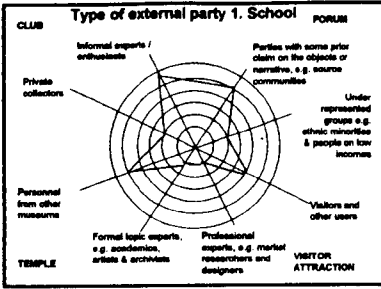
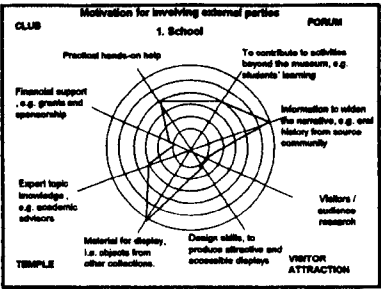
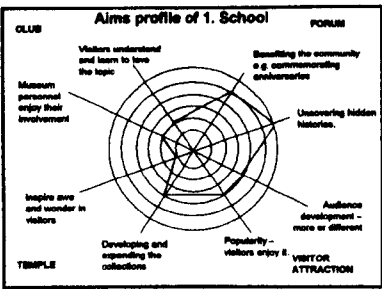
15. Graphic Art	A regular volunteer at the museum. The artist's daughter Museums Friends – paid for frames Volunteers designing the posters and labels External printer for posters
16. Music	Musicians Private collectors Owner / manager of a local record shop Students / fanzine editors
17. Crusades	Two academics from the city's university The British Library lent objects for display CADW - Pictures
18. Horses	A specialist auction house based in the town gave sponsorship of £10K as well as lending objects, providing information and writing parts of the text. Freelance photographer Regular volunteers External graphic designer / printer
19. Land girls	Paid freelance curator Ex-land girls School pupils for a linked project External printers for graphic panels and book Freelance decorators
20. Guides	Assistant Guide leader – her personal collection Guides Trefoil Guild (ex Guides)

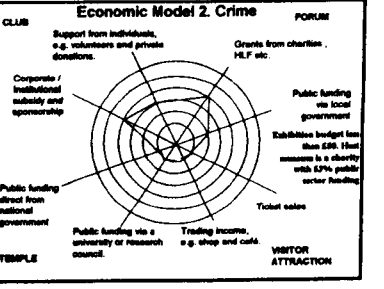
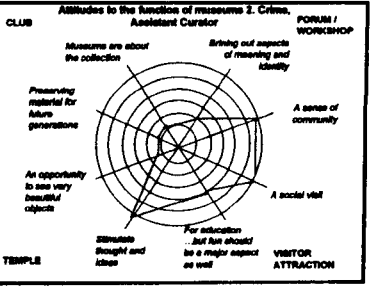
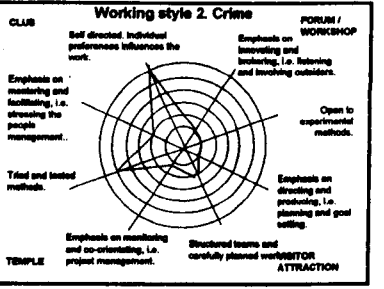
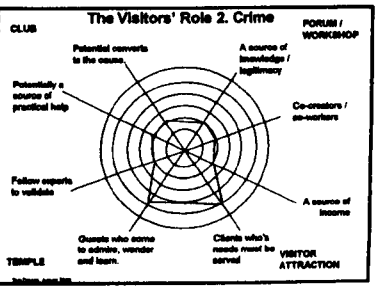
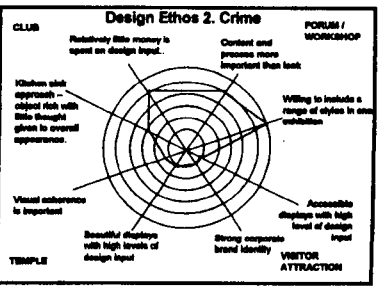
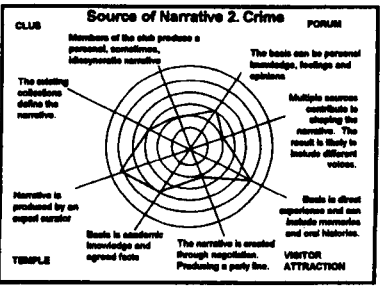
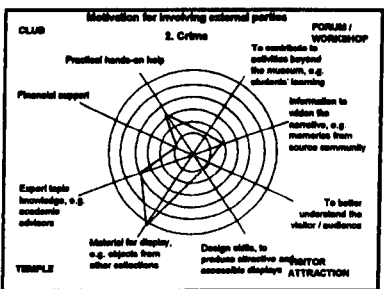
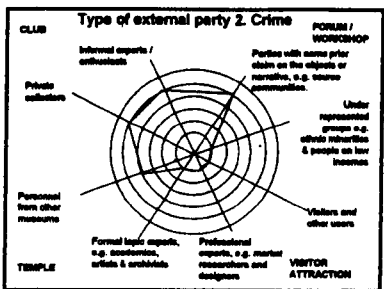
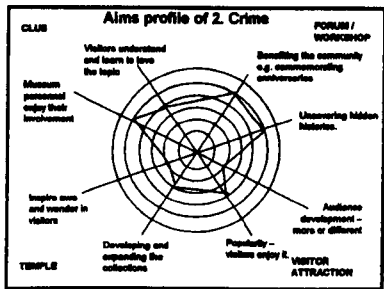
11.13. A13 - Sample divided by exhibition budget

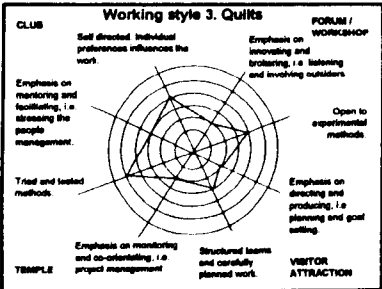
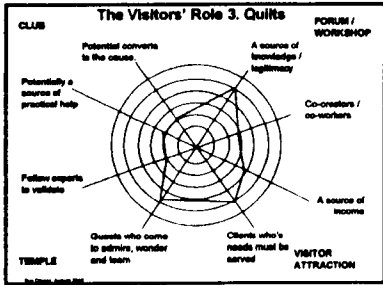
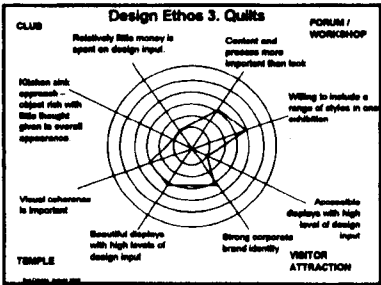
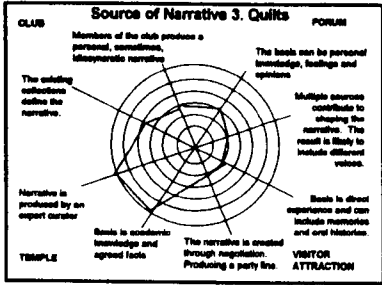
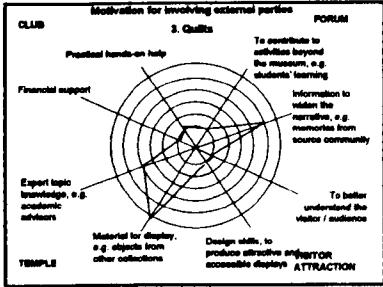
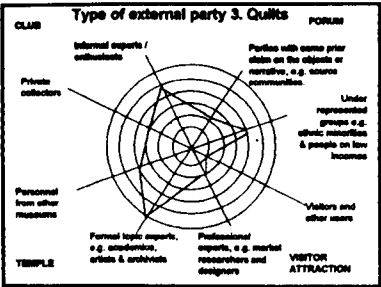
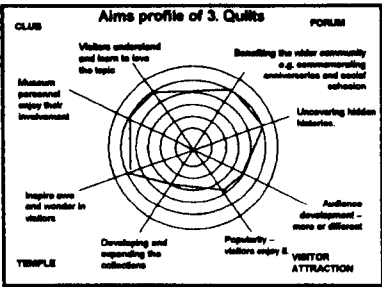
Category	Case	Total budget	Budget per m2
Shoe string	13. Pilots	£10	£2
	14. Farming	Less than £50	£8.33
	2. Crime	Less than £50	£1.72
	11. Local Hospital	Less than £100	£8.33
	15. Graphic Art	Less than £100	£2.94
	20. Guides	£200	£3.45
	8. Buildings	£200	£5.71
	1. School	£400	£13.79
	4. Victorian	£500	£50
	10. Landscape Prints	Less than £1,500	£24.59
	12. Design	£1,500	£17.65
Mid range	9. Military Women	£2,000	£71.42
	3. Quilts	£6,000	£24
	17. Crusades	£6,500	£240.74
	16. Music	£10,000	£188.68
	18. Horses	£10,000	£232.56
	19. Land Girls	£40,000	£133.33
Over £50,000	5. War and Migration	£75,000	£1,041
	6. Iron age	£169,750	£1,022
	7. Iran	Undisclosed	Unknown

11.14. A14 – MVF maps for each of the 20 case studies

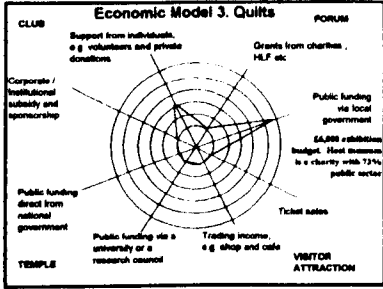
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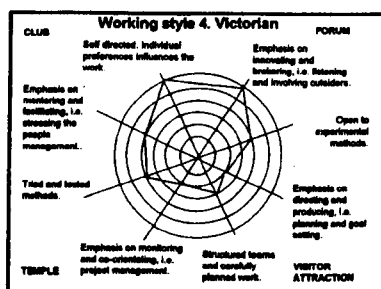
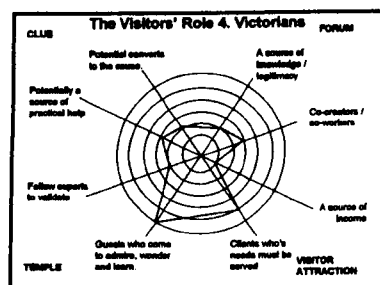
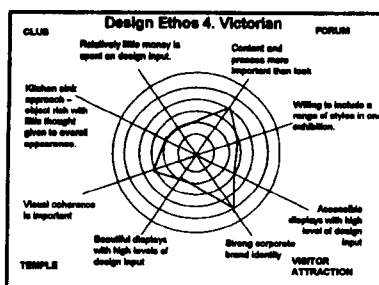
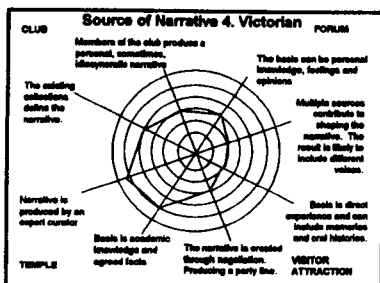
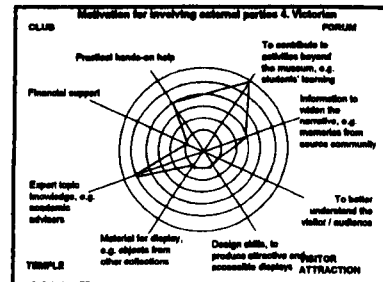
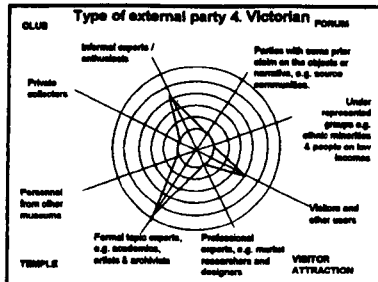
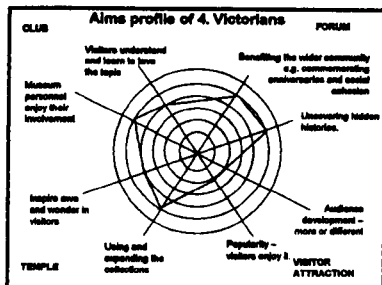




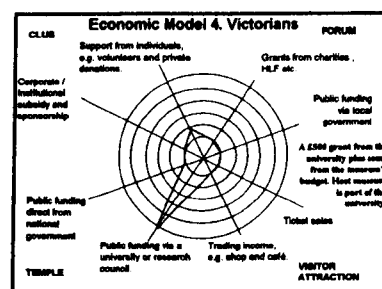


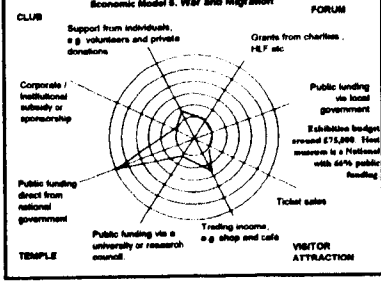
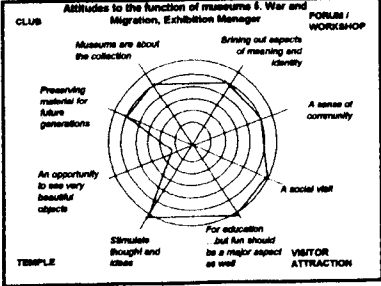
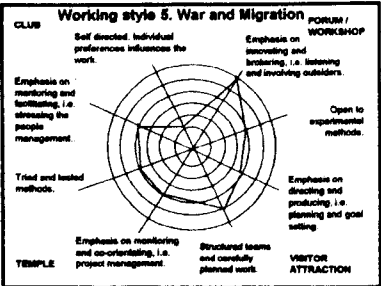
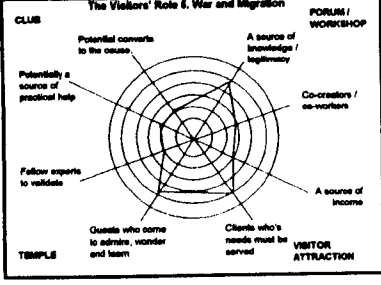
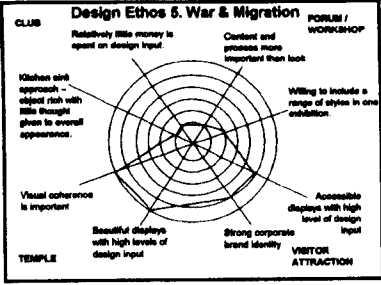
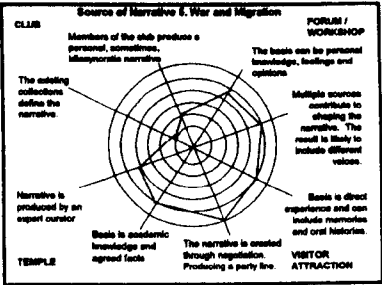
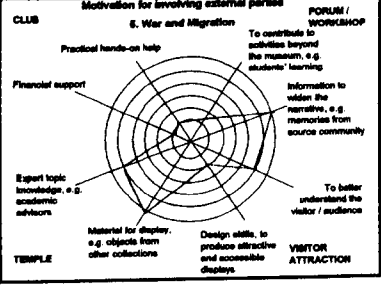
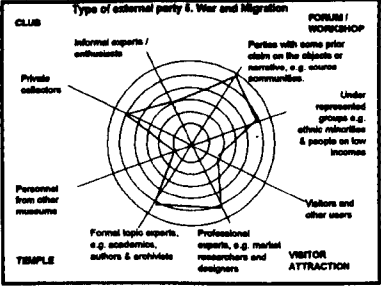
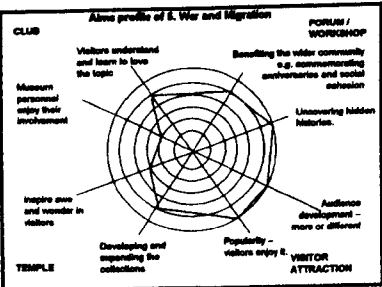
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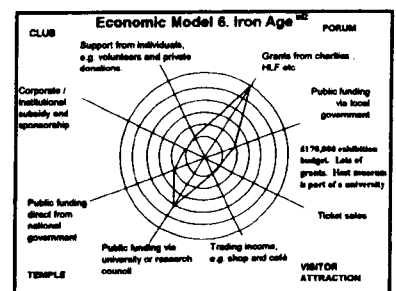
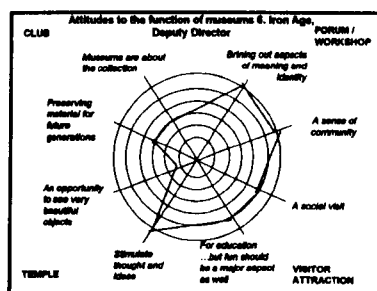
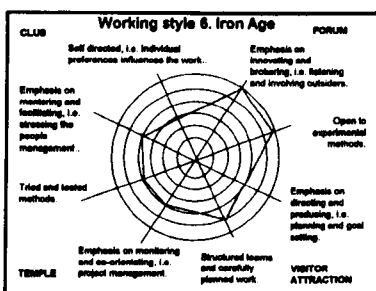
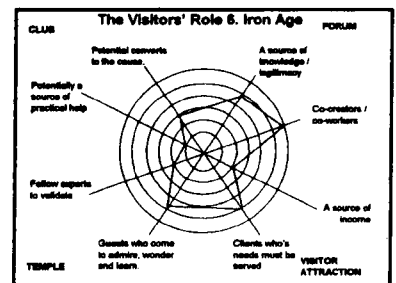
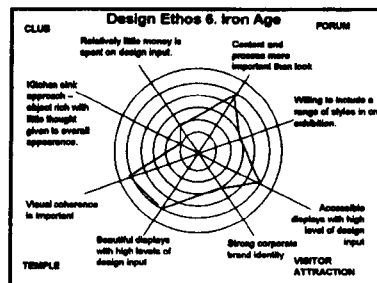
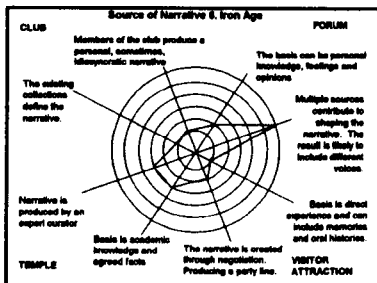
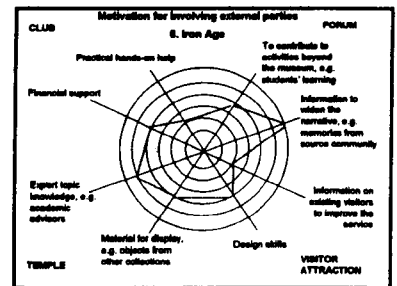
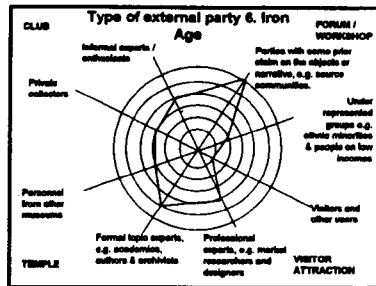
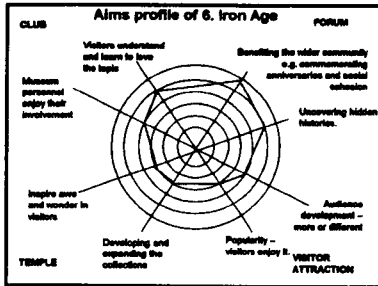


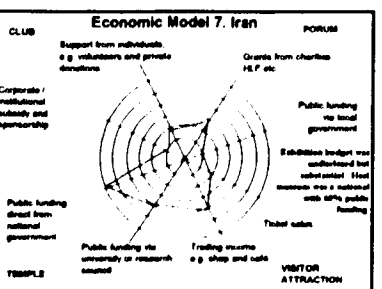
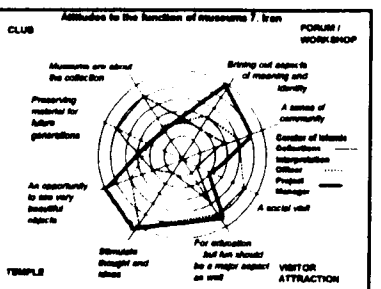
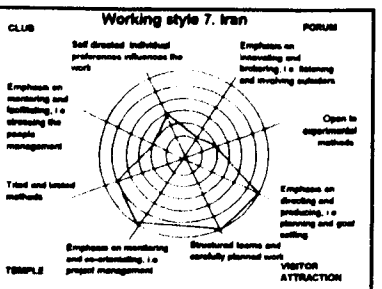
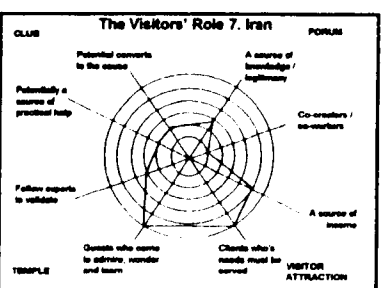
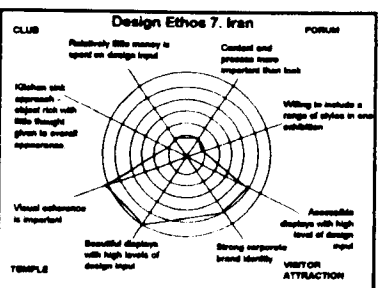
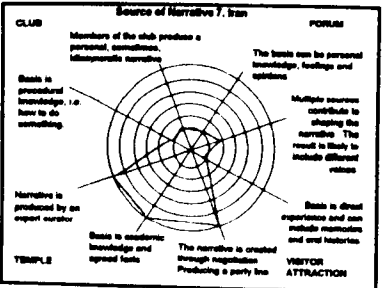
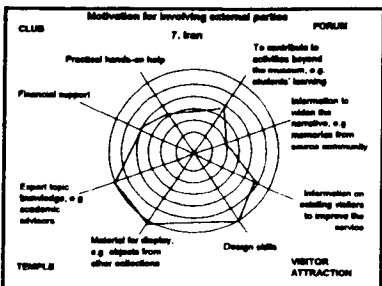
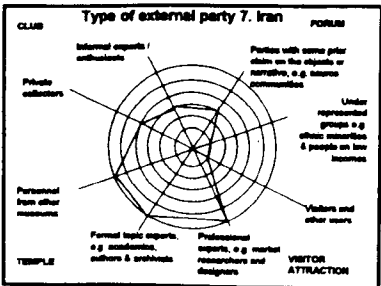
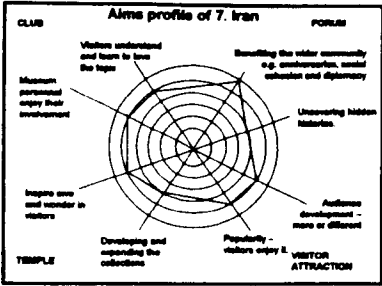


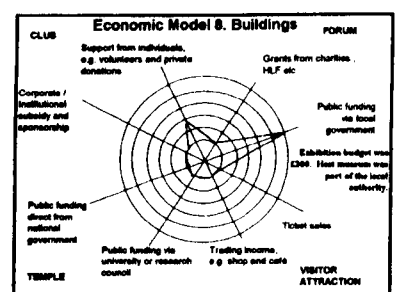
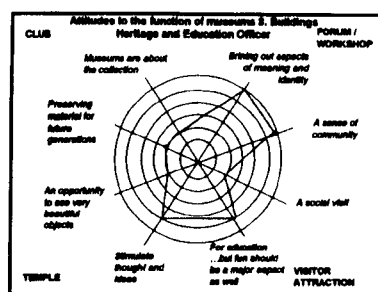
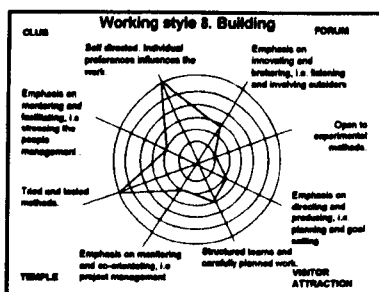
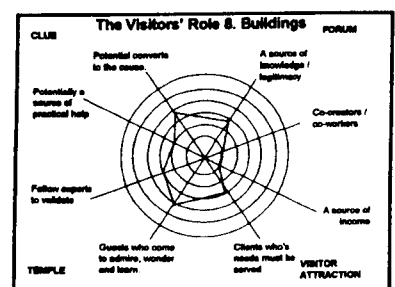
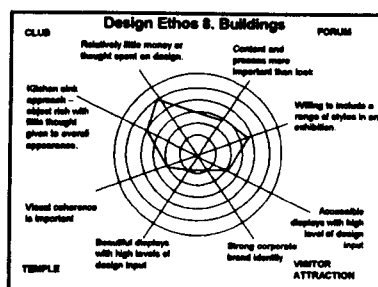
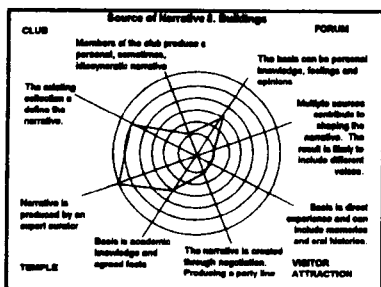
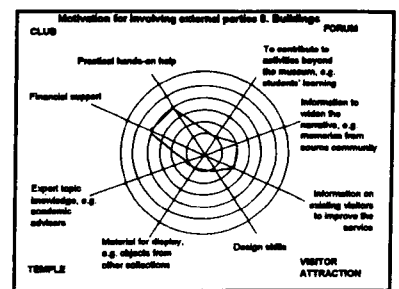
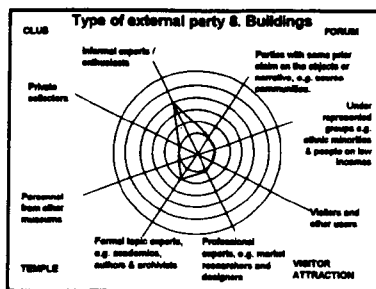
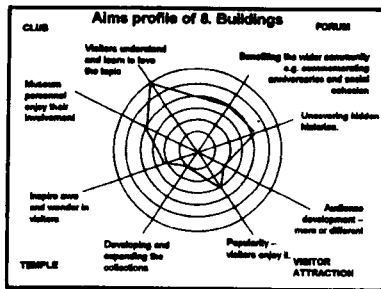
Missing data on interviewees opinions on the function of museums.

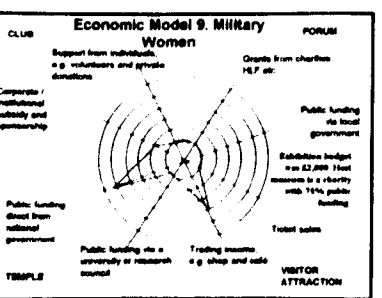
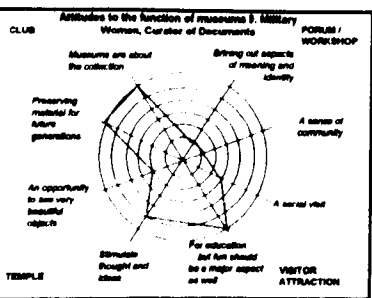
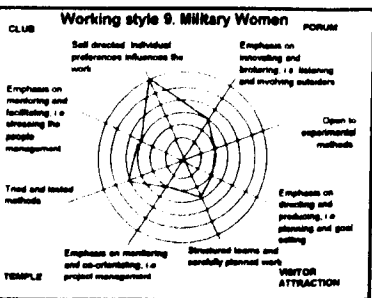
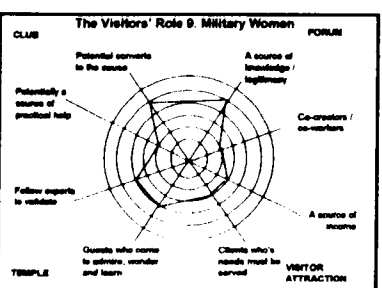
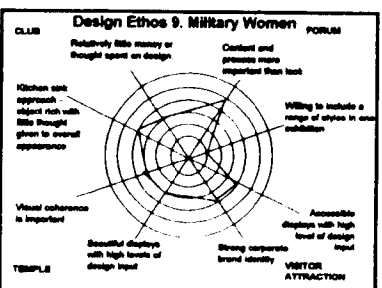
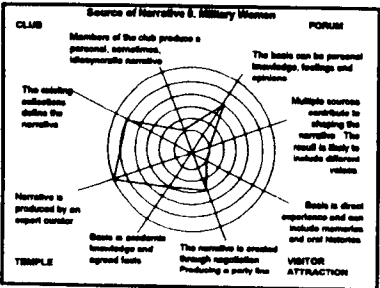
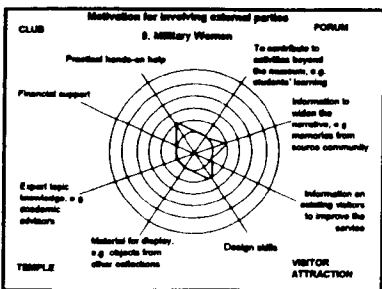
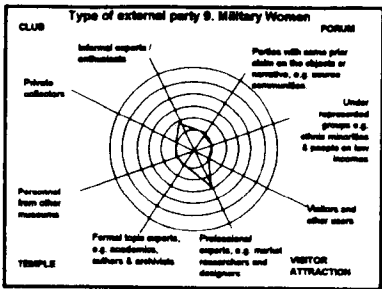
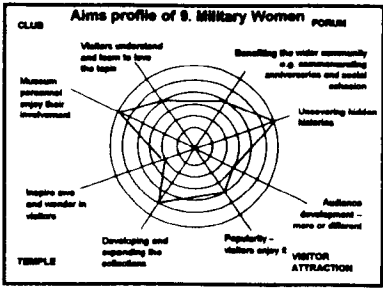


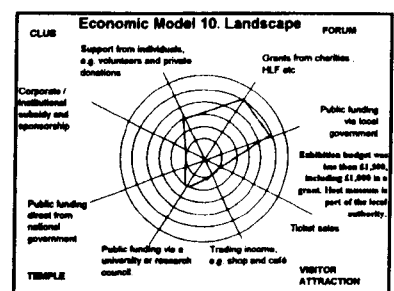
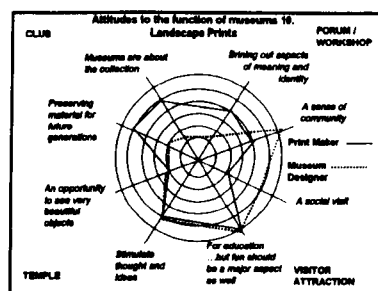
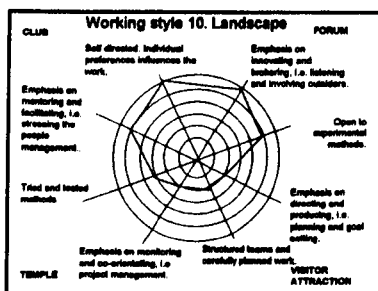
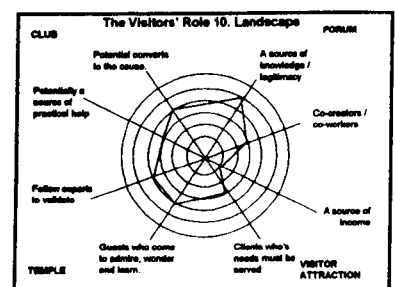
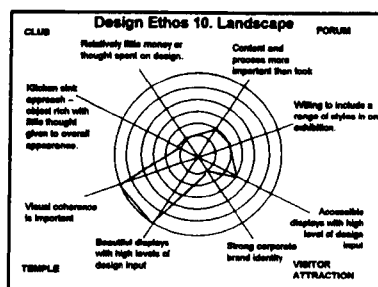
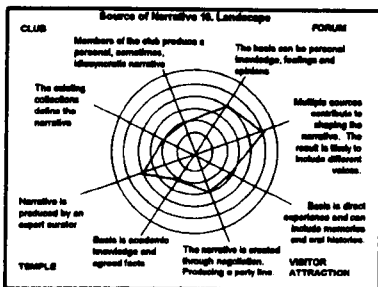
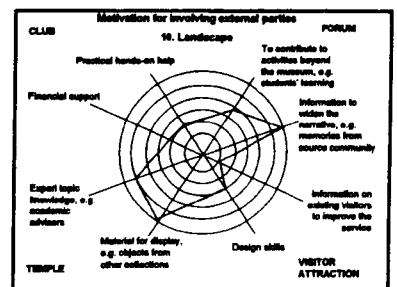
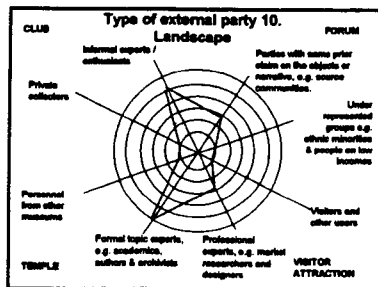
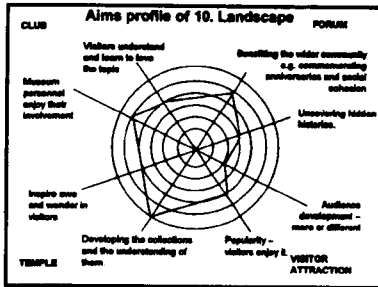


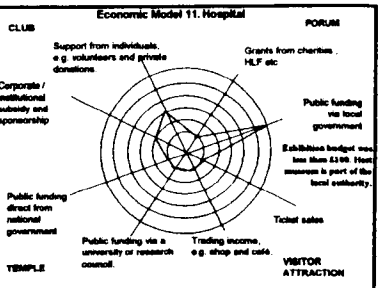
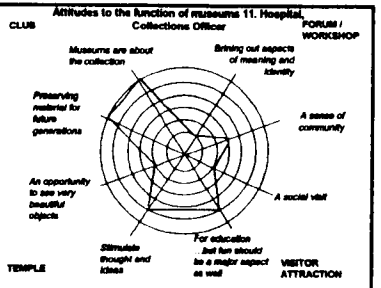
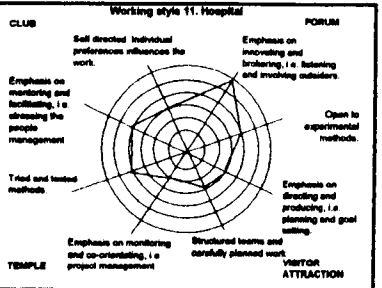
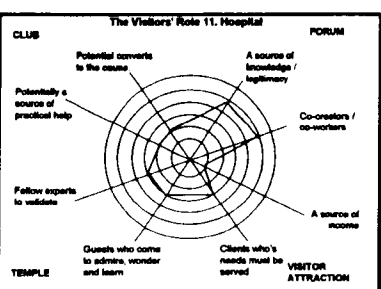
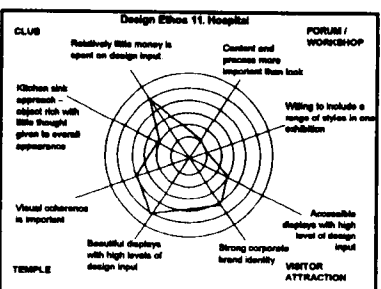
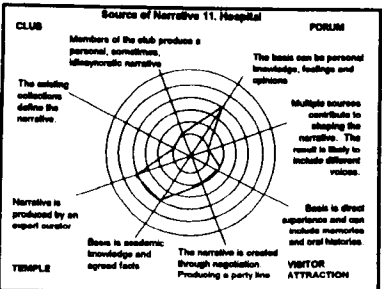
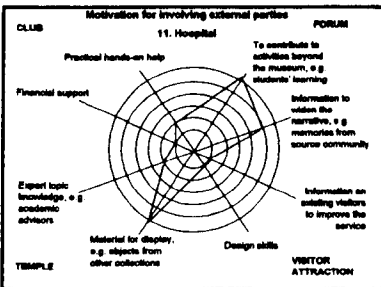
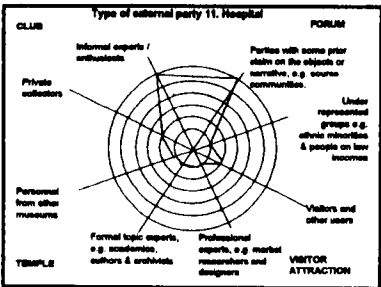
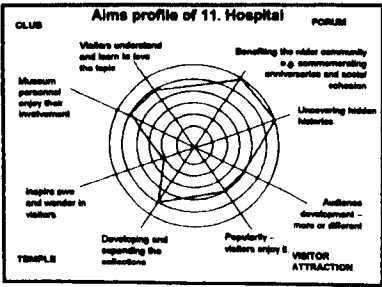


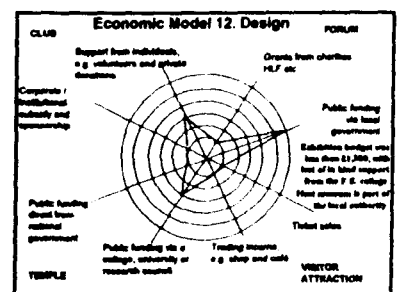
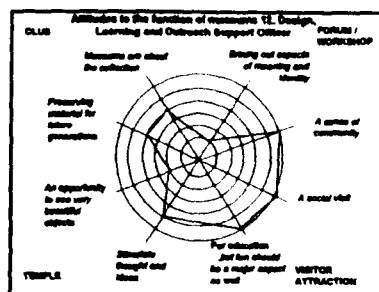
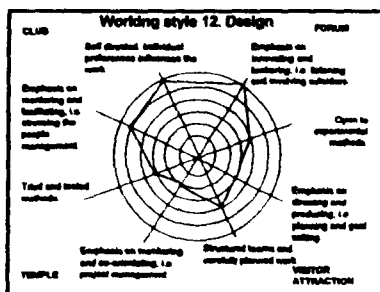
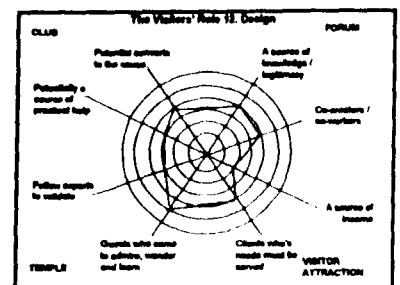
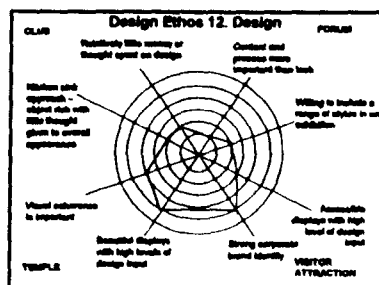
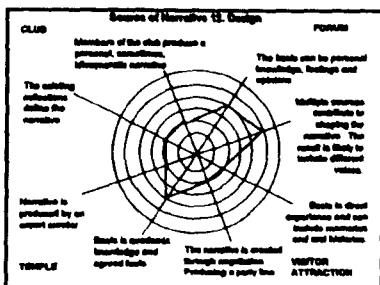
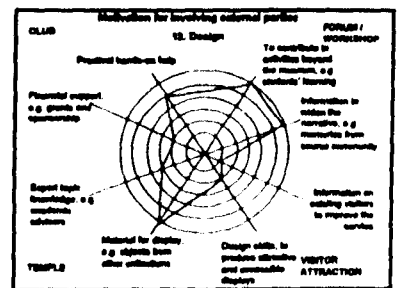
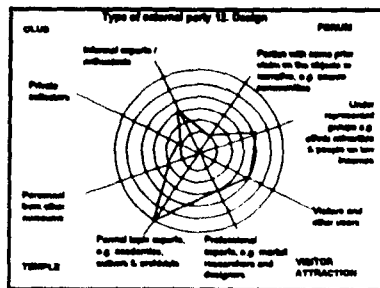
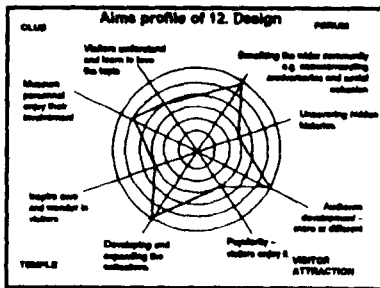


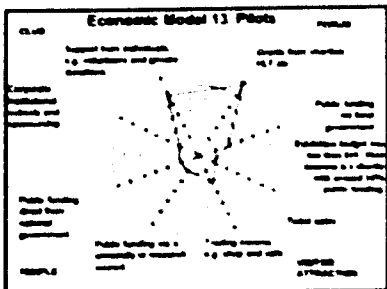
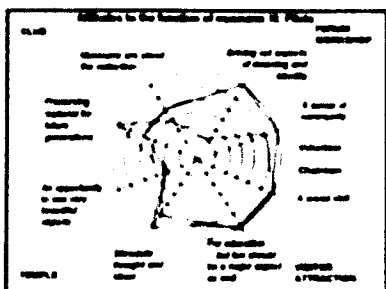
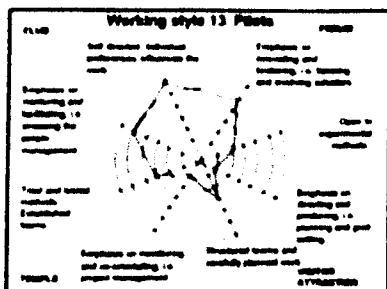
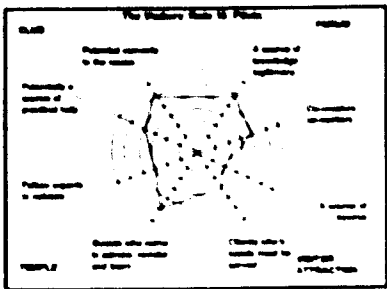
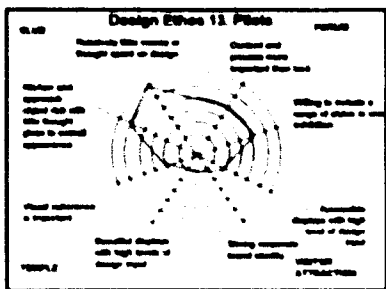
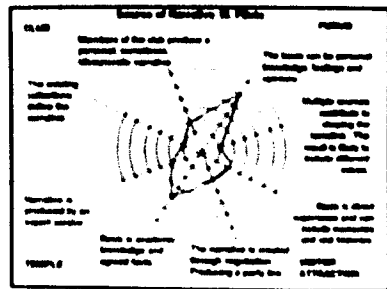
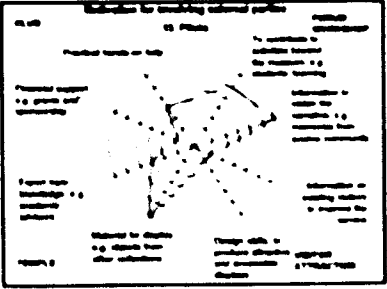
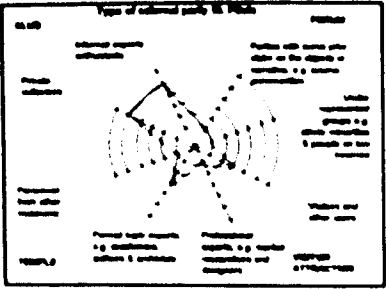
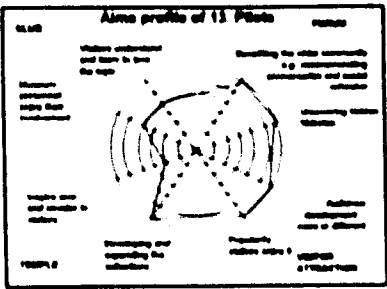


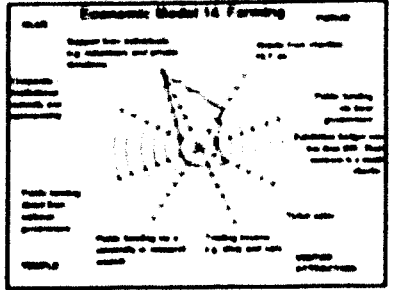
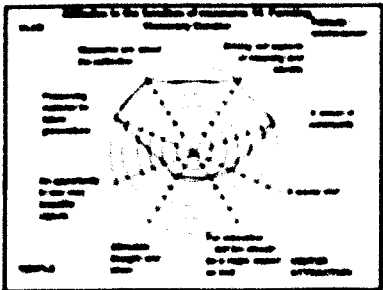
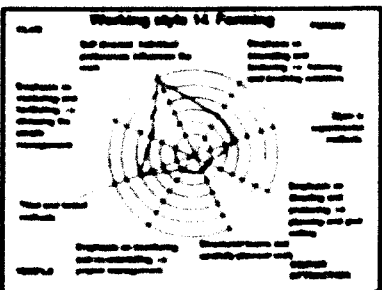
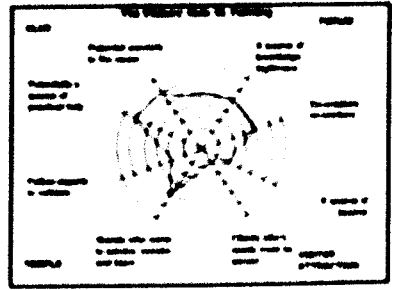
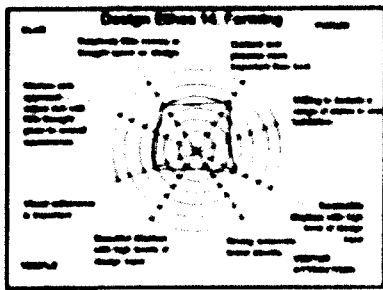
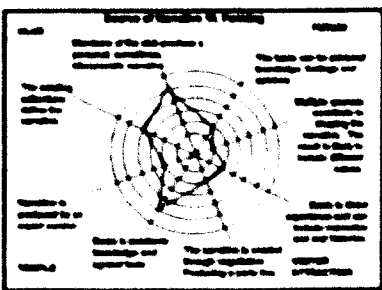
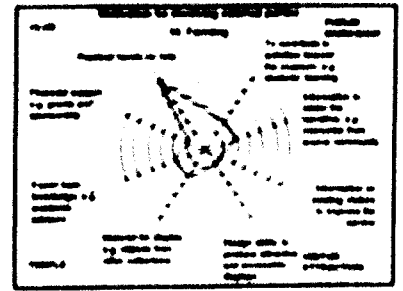
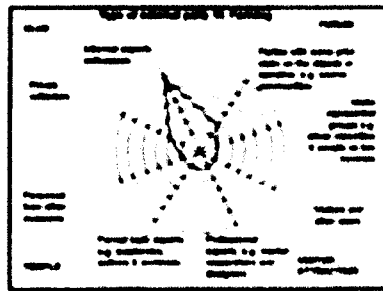
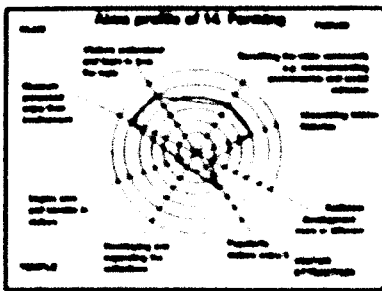


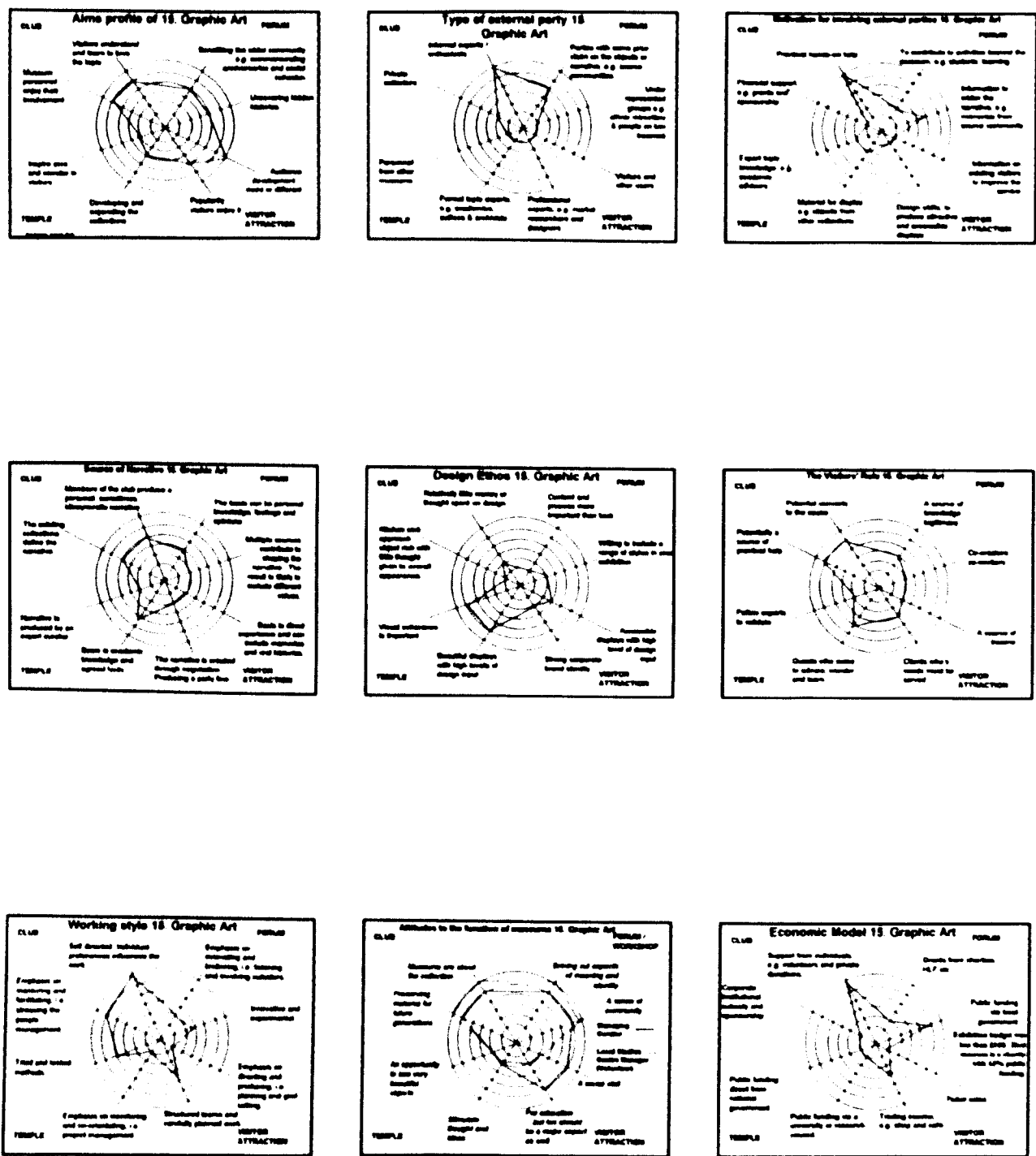


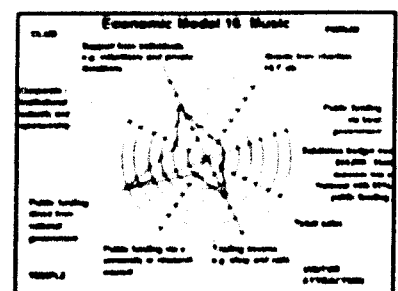
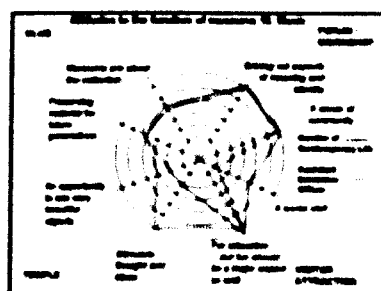
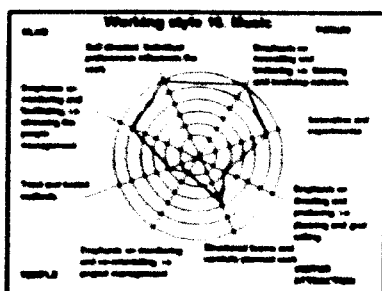
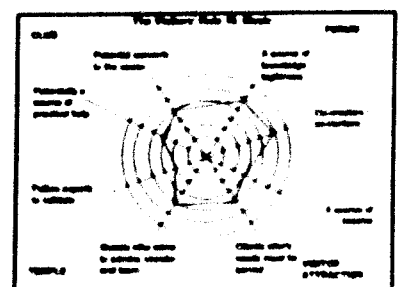
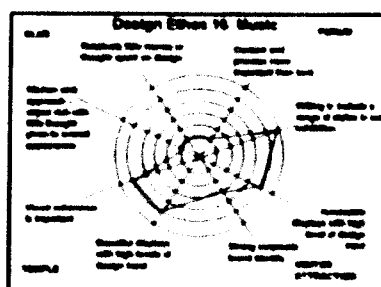
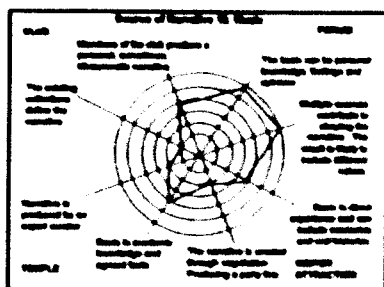
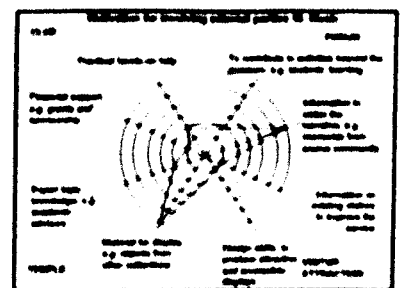
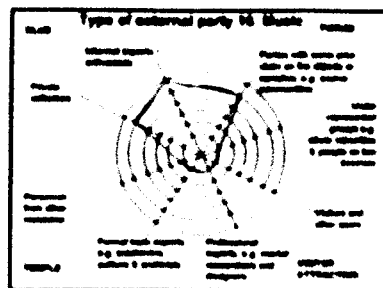
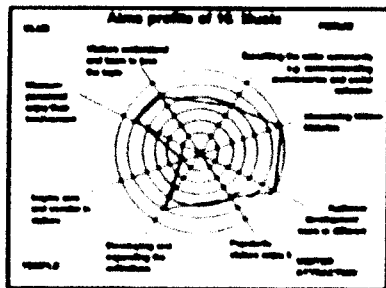


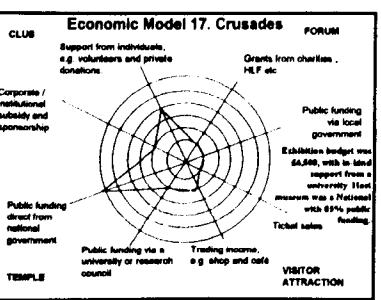
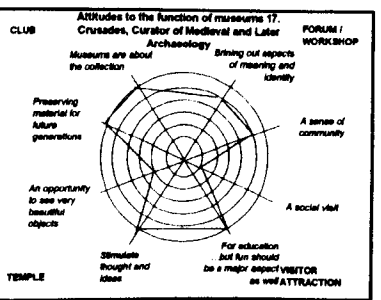
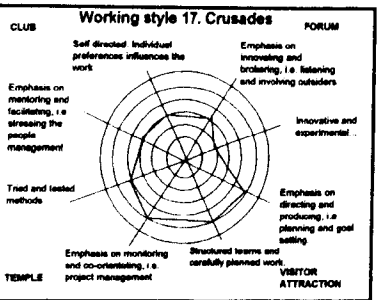
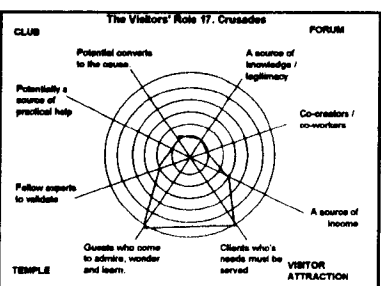
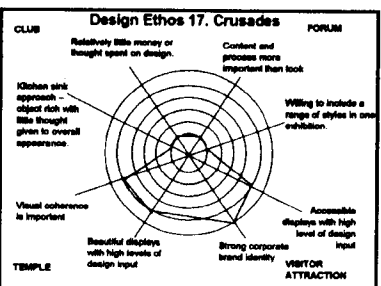
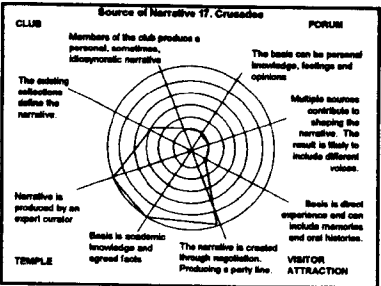
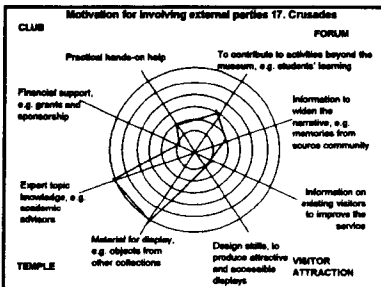
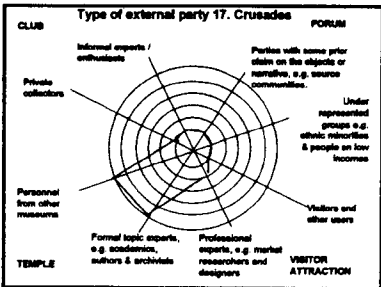
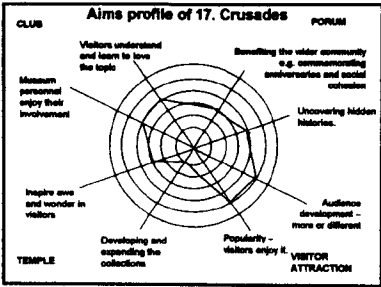


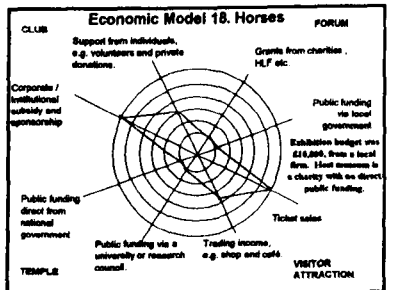
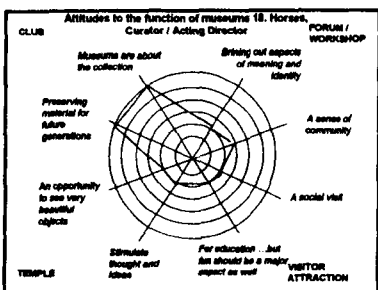
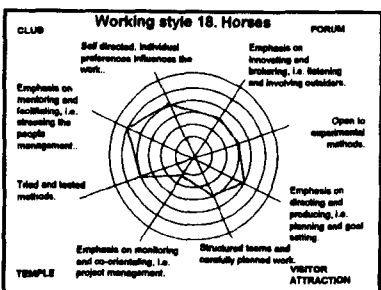
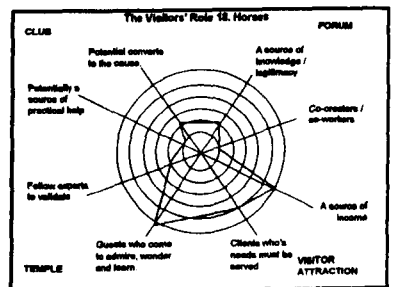
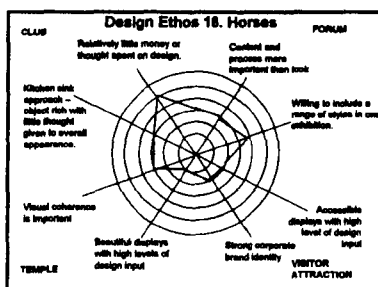
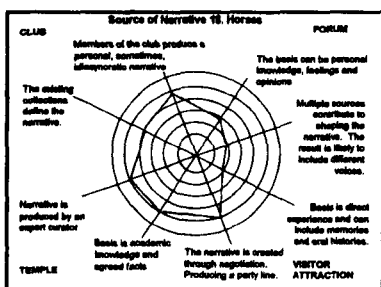
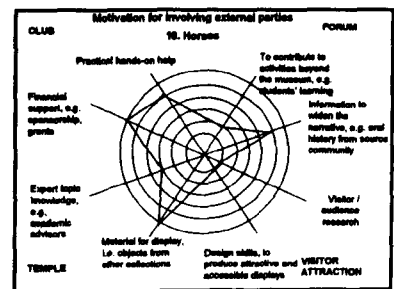
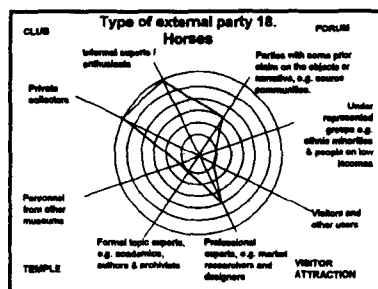
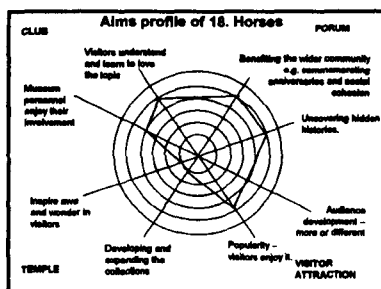


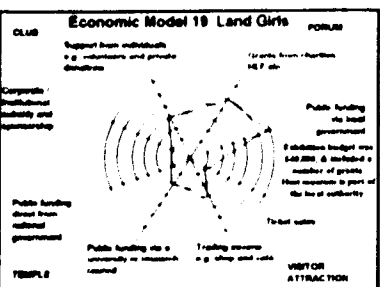
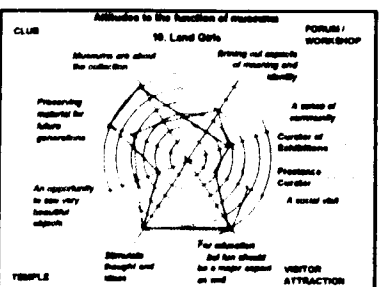
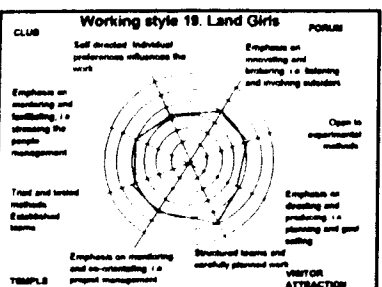
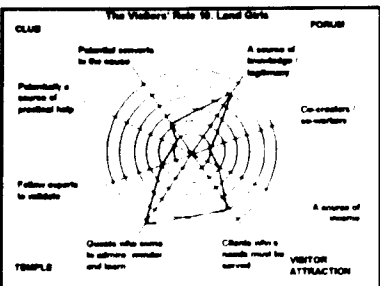
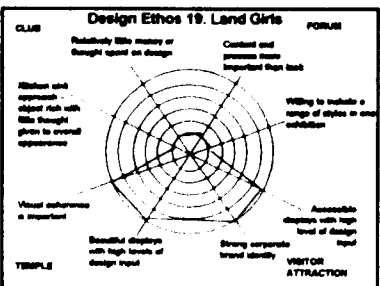
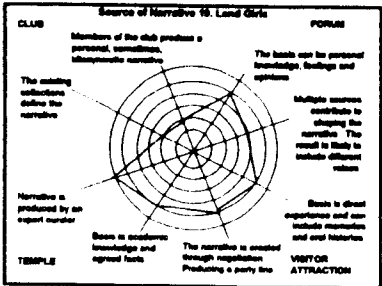
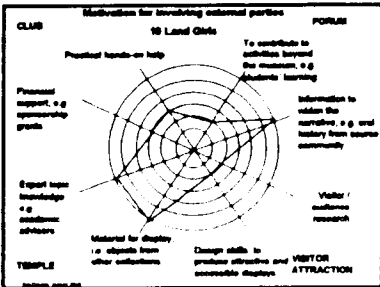
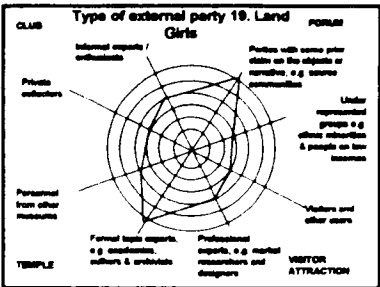
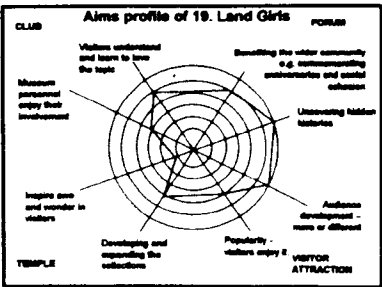


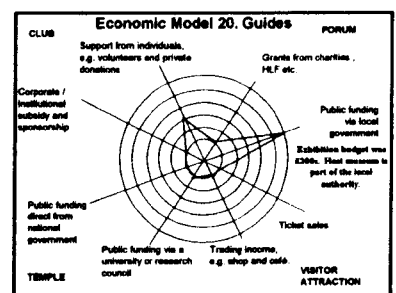
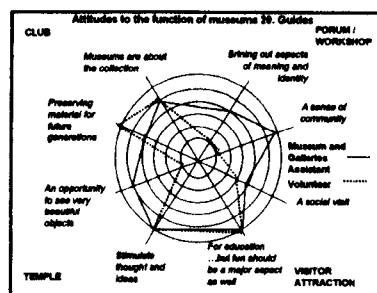
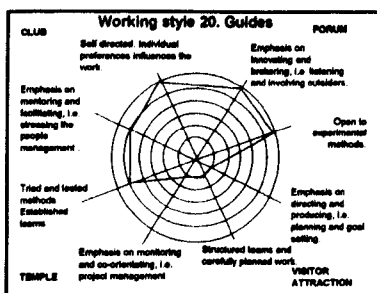
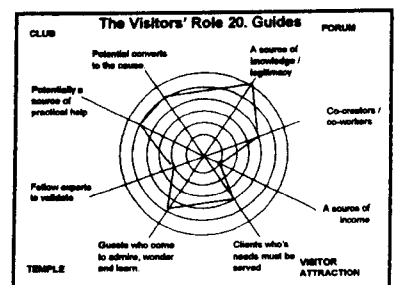
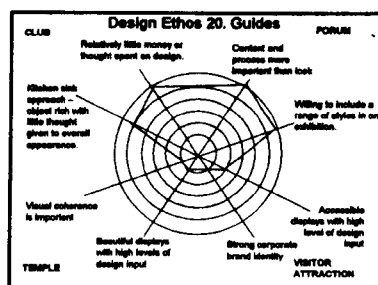
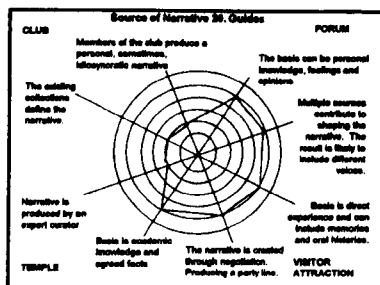
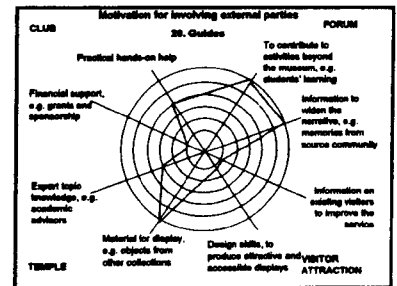
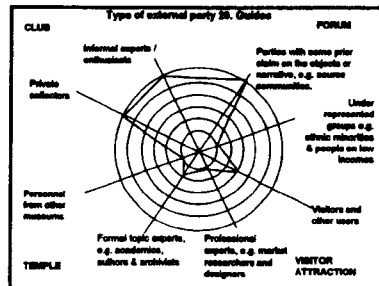
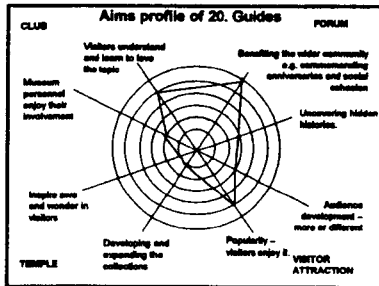












11.15. **A15 – Table of the cases and their MVF mode**

Case	Description of the MVF mode
1. School	Mixed. Strong Forum and Visitor Attraction behaviour. Some Club. Very little Temple.
2. Crime	Mixed. Club, Forum and Visitor Attraction with a bit of Temple.
3. Quilts	Mixed. Club, Temple and Visitor Attraction with a bit of Forum.
4. Victorian	Mixed. Working style strongly Club / Forum.
5. War and Migration	Mixed. Strong Visitor Attraction behaviour. Also Forum and Temple tendencies.
6. Iron Age	Forum. Strong Visitor Attraction and some Temple behaviour.
7. Iran	Temple, with strong Visitor Attraction.
8. Buildings	Club with a bit of Temple and Visitor Attraction. Attitudes to museums strongly Forum but not matched by behaviour.
9. Military Women W in A	Mixed. Host museum appears to be Temple / Visitor Attraction but the project has a sub culture with strong Club tendencies.
10. Landscape Prints	Mixed. Working style strongly Club / Forum. Significant amount of Temple behaviour. Relatively little Visitor Attraction values.
11. Hospital	Mixed. Wide and varied aims. Working style mostly Forum / Club with a bit of Temple. Relatively little Visitor Attraction.
12. Design	Mixed. Wide aims. Working style a combination of Forum / Club with a bit of Temple. Relatively little Visitor Attraction.
13. World War Two, Pilots	Club with some Temple and Forum. Some Visitor Attraction behaviour.
14. Farming	Very strongly Club. Some Temple and Forum. Very little evidence of Visitor Attraction behaviour.
15. Graphic Art	Mostly Club with strong Visitor Attraction tendencies. Design ethos doesn't match the general profile, it is Temple-like.
16. Music	Mixed. Appears to be Forum / Club sub-culture inside a wider / more general culture of Temple / Visitor Attraction.
17. Crusades	Temple with strong Visitor Attraction.
18. Horses	Club. Some Temple and Visitor Attraction.
19. Land girls	Visitor Attraction but finely balanced. Lots of Temple and Forum behaviour.
20. Guides	Forum with strong Club values. Some evidence of Visitor Attraction and a very little bit of Temple.

11.16. A16 – Four tables showing the types of co-production and the MVF mode

Table 1 – Co-initiation

Level of co-initiation	Cases and dominant values profile
High level / blurred	13. Club 14. Club 15. Club
Yes	1. Mixed 4. Mixed 8. Club 9. Mixed 11. Mixed 12. Mixed 17. Temple 19. Visitor Attraction
Some	6. Forum 10. Mixed 20. Forum
Very little or none	2. Mixed 3. Mixed 5. Mixed 7. Temple 16. Mixed 18. Club

A16 Table 2 - Co-management

Level of co-management	Cases and dominant values profile
High level / blurred	4. Mixed 14. Club 15. Club
Yes	12. Mixed
Some	19. Visitor Attraction
Very little or none	1. Mixed 2. Mixed 3. Mixed 5. Mixed 6. Forum 7. Temple 8. Club 9. Mixed 10. Mixed 11. Mixed 13. Club 16. Mixed 17. Temple 18. Club 20. Forum

A16 Table 3 – Co-design

Level of co-design	Cases and dominant values profile
High level / blurred	4. Mixed 5. Mixed 6. Forum 7. Temple 14. Club 15. Club
Yes	10. Mixed 19. Visitor Attraction 20. Forum
Some	1. Mixed 9. Mixed 12. Mixed 13. Club 16. Mixed 17. Temple 18. Club
Very little or none	2. Mixed 3. Mixed 8. Club 11. Mixed

A16 – Table 4 – Co-delivery

Level of co-delivery	Cases and dominant values profile
High level / blurred delivery	4. Mixed 12. Mixed 14. Club 15. Club 16. Mixed 19. Visitor Attraction 20. Forum
Yes	1. Mixed 2. Mixed 3. Mixed 5. Mixed 6. Forum 7. Temple 10. Mixed 11. Mixed 13. Club 17. Temple 18. Club
Some	8. Club
Very little or none	9. Mixed